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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE<sup>1</sup>

A CENTURY ago the United States suffered from a nuisance that became more and more common as the decades passed—namely, the European tourist who, after a brief sojourn in the social and literary circles of New York and Boston, returned home to publish the Impressions, Journal, or Promenade that revealed to the world the defects, the crude, ineffectual strivings of the democracy across the sea. On August 30, 1833, Jared Sparks, the American historian, wrote to Alexis de Tocqueville, assuring him that he would welcome the appearance of the second part of Tocqueville's *Démocratie en Amérique*,

"in which I anticipate a more accurate and judicious account of the United States than has yet appeared from the pen of any European traveller. The British press has lately been teeming with much misrepresentation and spleen on America. The travellers from England have no disposition to see things favorably on this side of the Atlantic."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The existing biographies of Tocqueville are antiquated and incomplete. They contain no information concerning Tocqueville's attitude towards the United States after 1840 or his relations with citizens of the United States after 1832. Tocqueville's published correspondence with Frenchmen and Englishmen is fairly abundant; his correspondence with Americans is virtually inedited. In the present article I offer eight unpublished letters written by Tocqueville, four to Jared Sparks, and four to Charles Sumner. If one reads only Tocqueville's political and historical works, one is likely to form an erroneous judgment of their author. Tocqueville's correspondence shows that he was an agreeable companion, an obliging and sympathetic friend, and, though ever serious and reticent, a man with a marked sense of humor and a kindly tendency to overlook the foibles of his fellowmen.

<sup>2</sup> Hitherto unpublished. All the letters of the Sparks-Tocqueville correspondence are among the Sparks Manuscripts in the Harvard University Library. The letters are preserved in cartons and are arranged in chronological order.

Tocqueville was indeed an exception to the generality of foreign visitors to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. He remained in this country not merely a few weeks, but nine months (May 9, 1831–February 10, 1832), and he traveled far and wide. Starting from New York, he and his companion, Gustave de Beaumont, visited by boat or stagecoach Wethersfield (Connecticut), Sing Sing, Auburn (New York), Albany, Buffalo, Detroit, the wilds of Michigan and Wisconsin, Quebec, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, thence through Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina to Norfolk and Washington. In his wanderings, Tocqueville made it a point to interview not only the higher classes of society—aristocrats, clergymen, scholars, statesmen, *littérateurs*, and professional men,—but also representatives of the lower classes—frontiersmen, trappers, Indians, convicts, negro slaves, day laborers, servants,—in fact, any one who could aid in giving him an insight into American life and character. Better still, Tocqueville came to America not as a mere idler, but with a definite purpose. Commissioned by the French Government to examine the penitentiary system of the United States, he took advantage of his stay to observe “the institutions and customs of American society and the workings of democracy in its only successful form.”<sup>3</sup> In *La Démocratie en Amérique* (1835), he says:

“En Amérique, la démocratie est livrée à ses propres pentes. Ses allures sont naturelles et tous ses mouvements sont libres. C'est là qu'il faut la juger. Et pour qui cette étude serait-elle intéressante et profitable, si ce n'était pour nous [les Français], qu'un mouvement irrésistible entraîne chaque jour, et qui marchons en aveugles, peut-être vers le despotisme, peut-être vers la république, mais à coup sûr vers un état social démocratique?”<sup>4</sup>

So, then, Tocqueville came to the United States primarily to acquire information that would be useful to France, “at that time entering upon a more popular form of constitutional

<sup>3</sup> Tocqueville, *Voyage en Amérique*, Heath, Boston, 1909, Introduction by R. C. Ford, p. iv.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres complètes d'Alexis de Tocqueville*, Paris, 1864–1868, II, 44–45.

government under Louis-Philippe;"<sup>5</sup> he disembarked at New York with an open mind, free from preconceived ideas and prejudices; he came to learn, to see things as they were, to distribute praise and censure as he saw fit. And it is gratifying to record that the published account of his sojourn in the United States, though outspoken, is so equitable that, after a lapse of one hundred years, only the most hidebound of American chauvinists can question its sincerity and, invariably, its truth.

Tocqueville and Beaumont landed in New York on May 9, 1831, after a voyage of thirty-five days on board the vessel *Le Havre*. Tocqueville's impressions during the first few days after his arrival are interesting.

"Nous voilà donc à New York [he wrote his mother]: l'aspect de la ville est bizarre pour un Français et peu agréable. On ne voit ni un dôme, ni un clocher, ni un grand édifice; de manière qu'on se croit toujours dans un faubourg. Dans l'intérieur, la ville est bâtie en briques: ce qui lui donne un aspect fort monotone. On ne voit aux maisons ni corniches, ni balustrades, ni porte-cochère; les rues sont mal pavées, mais il y a dans toutes des trottoirs pour les piétons . . .

"Vous ne vous faites pas une idée des facilités que nous trouvons dans ce pays-ci pour remplir notre mission. Tous les Américains de toutes les classes semblent rivaliser entre eux à qui nous sera plus utile ou plus agréable. Les journaux, qui ici s'occupent de tout, ont annoncé notre arrivée et exprimé l'espoir que nous trouverions partout une active assistance. Il en résulte que toutes les portes nous sont ouvertes, et que partout nous recevons l'accueil le plus flatteur . . .

"Nous sommes établis dans un *boarding-house* de la rue la plus à la mode, qu'on appelle Broadway . . .

"Vous voyez que jusqu'à présent nous n'avons pas à nous plaindre. Nous faisons le plus beau voyage qu'on puisse imaginer, et avec un agrément que presque aucun voyageur n'a rencontré."<sup>6</sup>

Five months later (October 24, 1831) Tocqueville's enthusiasm had not waned:

<sup>5</sup> Herbert B. Adams, *Jared Sparks and Alexis de Tocqueville*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XVI, No. 12 (1898), p. 7. In this excellent article, Mr. Adams published in full four letters by Tocqueville and in part or in full six letters by Sparks.—Gustave de Beaumont, in his "Notice sur A. de Tocqueville" (*Œuvres complètes d'A. de T.*, V, 19), says: ". . . l'observation des prisons fut moins le texte que le prétexte de ce voyage."

<sup>6</sup> *Œuvres complètes*, VII, 10-13. Tocqueville's letter, written on various days, is dated at New York, May 9, 14, and 15, 1831.

"De grâce [he wrote his mother], ne croyez pas la moitié de ce que S . . . vous a dit de défavorable sur ce pays-ci. Il ne le connaît pas par lui-même, et ce qu'il en sait, il le tient d'une certaine classe de Français qu'il a vus ici exclusivement, et qui, en Amérique, comme ailleurs, semblent les représentants de tous les défauts propres à l'esprit de nos compatriotes. Avec l'Angleterre, ce pays-ci est le plus curieux et le plus instructif qu'on puisse visiter; et de plus que l'Angleterre, il a le privilège unique d'être en même temps dans la virilité et dans l'enfance: ce qui lui donne l'aspect le plus extraordinaire du monde."<sup>7</sup>

The State of Massachusetts impressed Tocqueville most favorably. In his *Notes de voyages*, he wrote (Boston, September 19, 1831):

"Nous avons parcouru l'État de Massachusetts dans sa plus grande étendue, allant d'Albany à Boston. Nous avons trouvé que son aspect différait entièrement de celui de l'État de New York. Il n'y a plus de *log-houses*, plus d'arbres brûlés, plus de troncs abandonnés au milieu des champs, en un mot plus de traces de la *Wilderness*.

"Les terres sont bien cultivées; le pays a l'air ancien. Les maisons sont presque toutes charmantes (surtout dans les villages). Il y règne un luxe de propreté singulière. La contrée est elle-même plus pittoresque, parsemée de collines et de montagnes."<sup>8</sup>

Boston and its society appealed especially to Tocqueville's cultivated nature:

"Boston est une jolie ville située sur plusieurs collines, au milieu des eaux.

"Ce que nous avons vu de ses habitants jusqu'à ce moment diffère entièrement de ce que nous avons observé à New York. La société, du moins celle dans laquelle nous avons été introduits, ressemble presque complètement aux hautes classes d'Europe. Il y règne du luxe, de certaines recherches. Presque toutes les femmes y parlent bien français, et tous les hommes que nous avons vus jusqu'à présent ont été en Europe. Leurs manières sont distinguées. Leurs conversations roulent sur des sujets intellectuels. On se sent sortir de ces habitudes commerciales et de cet esprit financier qui dominant dans la société de New York. Il existe déjà à Boston un certain nombre de personnes qui, n'ayant rien à faire, recherchent les plaisirs de

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 84-85.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 272.

l'esprit. Quelques-uns écrivent. Nous avons déjà vu trois ou quatre bibliothèques fort jolies et toutes littéraires."<sup>9</sup>

TOCQUEVILLE AND JARED SPARKS

Tocqueville seems to have made the acquaintance of Jared Sparks during his visit to Boston (September 19—*ca.* October 4, 1831).<sup>10</sup> On January 20, 1832, Sparks wrote in his diary:

"Two French gentlemen, Messrs. Beaumont and Tocqueville, were here three months ago, employed in examining the system of prisons, and other local institutions. They were sent out for this purpose by the French government. They have been very desirous to get some ideas of the municipal, or town governments in New England. . . . At their solicitation, I agreed to write an account of the system. . . . The principles are important in regard to any changes that may be contemplated in the municipal establishments of France. I have performed my promise, and written a memoir, entitled 'Observations on the Town Governments of Massachusetts.'" <sup>11</sup>

While in the United States, Tocqueville wrote two letters to Sparks.<sup>12</sup> In the first, written at Cincinnati on December 2, 1831, he asked Sparks a number of questions on the subject of town government in New England. In his reply, dated at Boston, January 11, 1832, Sparks said:

"I have not forgotten my promise to write the paper you desired, on the modes of municipal government in Massachusetts, and I will endeavor to answer the queries contained in your letter, as well as those which you left in writing before your departure from Boston. . . . In a few days I shall publish the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*,<sup>13</sup> formerly American Minister in France. It contains some curious matters about the French Revolution. He was in Paris from 1789 to 1794. When the work is published, I shall beg the favor of you to accept a copy."<sup>14</sup> Tocqueville's answer, written in Washington on

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 273; dated at Boston, September 20, 1831.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 272-283. In these pages Tocqueville records his conversations with Sparks, John Quincy Adams, William Ellery Channing, and M. Gray, "sénateur de Massachusetts (homme de beaucoup de talent)."—H. B. Adams (*op. cit.*, p. 7) says that Sparks made the acquaintance of Tocqueville in 1828, during a visit to Paris. Adams offers no evidence to support this assertion.

<sup>11</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Both letters were published in full by Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 14.

<sup>13</sup> Published at Boston, 1832, 3 vols.

<sup>14</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

January 20, 1832, contained only expressions of thanks and other unimportant details. On February 2, 1832, Sparks sent Tocqueville a letter inclosing "a general and condensed view of the system of town government in Massachusetts, embracing at the same time the answers to your queries."<sup>15</sup> On February 4, 1832, Sparks wrote again, requesting Tocqueville to secure for him in France two historical documents (see Tocqueville's reply, below), and also certain unpublished papers relating to the part played by Vergennes "in bringing about the Independence of America."<sup>16</sup>

On February 10, 1832, Tocqueville and Beaumont sailed from New York for France. In their baggage they took the notes that were later elaborated into their official report on American penitentiaries, and in addition Tocqueville carried with him the materials for his *Démocratie en Amérique*.

Eight months later Tocqueville wrote to Sparks the following letter. It is especially interesting to read of Tocqueville's effort "to awaken public attention" in France to Sparks and his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*.

PARIS, ce 18 octobre 1832.

J'imagine, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, que mon silence vous paraît extraordinaire; j'espère que vous le concevrez mieux après avoir lu ma lettre.

A notre retour dans ce pays-ci, M. de Beaumont et moi, nous dûmes nous occuper immédiatement de visiter les prisons de France, afin de pouvoir faire d'utiles comparaisons entre elles et celles d'Amérique. Plusieurs mois se passèrent ainsi en courses continuelles; et ce n'est qu'au bout de ce tems que, revenu à Paris, je reçus de M. Niles<sup>17</sup> le précieux ouvrage que vous l'aviez chargé de me remettre. Je me hâtai de le lire, comme vous pouvez croire; et le lus avec le plus grand plaisir. Je voulais vous répondre sur-le-champ; mais la rédaction de notre rapport, dont nous étions alors occupés, m'empêcha de le faire. Je désirais, d'ailleurs, pouvoir, avant de vous remercier, faire quelques-unes des choses dont vous m'aviez chargé.

Vous vous rappelez sans doute que, dans la lettre que

<sup>15</sup> Adams published Sparks' memoir on town government; also Sparks' answers to Tocqueville's queries (*op. cit.*, pp. 17-38). Tocqueville failed to acknowledge his indebtedness to Sparks for a good part of the matter in Chap. V of Part I of *La Démocratie en Amérique*.

<sup>16</sup> This letter is unpublished.

<sup>17</sup> Nathaniel Niles, Secretary of the American Legation in Paris. *Le précieux ouvrage* in question was, of course, Sparks' biography of Morris.



vous m'avez écrite le 4 février dernier de Boston, vous me priez de me procurer, s'il était possible: 1<sup>o</sup> un mémoire historique sur la négociation entre la France et l'Angleterre en 1761; 2<sup>o</sup> un mémoire contenant le précis des faits pour servir de réponse aux observations envoyées par les Ministres d'Angleterre dans les diverses cours de l'Europe en 1756. Ces deux documens existent à la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris, à ce que m'a dit le Bibliothécaire; mais il m'a été impossible de les découvrir chez aucuns libraires ou dans aucun cabinet particulier. Ces deux brochures n'avaient que l'intérêt du moment, et elles n'ont pas survécu aux événemens auxquels elles se rapportent.

Vous m'aviez prié également d'obtenir des extraits de documens inédits qui devaient se trouver dans la possession de la famille Vergennes; je n'ai pu parvenir à savoir dans quelles mains ces documens sont aujourd'hui placés, et il a fallu, quant à présent, renoncer à l'espoir de me les procurer.

Je vous assure, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, que j'étais désolé de ne pouvoir ainsi vous être utile à rien, et que je me sentais si contrarié d'avoir à vous le dire, que cette raison, jointe à la multitude de mes affaires, m'a souvent empêché de vous écrire; bien que j'éprouvasse le besoin de vous remercier de l'aimable accueil que vous m'avez fait dans votre pays, des services que vous m'y avez rendus, et enfin de l'envoi de votre dernier ouvrage.

Dans la lettre qui accompagnait la vie de Gouverneur Morris, vous m'exprimiez le désir de voir votre livre traduit en France. Pour me conformer à vos intentions sur ce point, j'ai été trouver un libraire de Paris, M. Fournier, qui se charge assez volontiers de ces sortes d'entreprises. M. Fournier m'a répondu que, dans l'état de gêne où était la librairie, il n'osait pas publier une aussi longue traduction. "M. Morris, me dit-il, est peu connu en France, et le nom de M. Sparks n'a point encore été prononcé. Avant de rien entreprendre, il convient d'éveiller l'attention publique." Je trouvai que cet avis était fort sage. Déjà deux de nos plus célèbres journaux, la *Revue Britannique* et le *National*, avaient entretenu leurs lecteurs de votre ouvrage. Mais ni l'un ni l'autre n'avait parlé de son auteur, et n'avait exprimé le désir de le voir traduit. Je crus que ces deux omissions devaient être réparées. Je fis donc un petit article dans lequel je dis de vous ce que j'en pense, et indiquai en même tems l'intérêt qu'il pourrait y avoir à publier votre ouvrage en français. Je fis insérer cet article dans deux journaux, que je vous envoie; depuis lors deux personnes m'ont déjà parlé d'entreprendre la traduction du livre et j'espère que l'une d'elles réalisera son dessein.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The French translation of Sparks' *Life of Gouverneur Morris* was published in

Je suis bien fâché, je vous assure, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, de n'avoir pu mieux m'acquitter, jusqu'à présent, de la dette de reconnaissance que j'ai contractée envers vous, mais veuillez ne pas vous décourager; et s'il se présentait de nouveau une occa[sion de] vous être utile ou agréable, employez, je vous prie, mes servic[es].<sup>19</sup>

Nous avons remis il y a huit jours entre les mains du Ministre des tr[avaux] publics notre rapport sur le Système Pénitentiaire d'Amérique. Je crois que le Gouvernement va le faire imprimer. Dès que cette publication aura eu lieu, je me hâterai de vous en envoyer un exemplaire.<sup>20</sup>

Adieu, mon cher Monsieur Sparks; recevez l'expression de mon sincère attachement; oubliez mon long silence, et surtout ne l'imitiez pas.

Ayez la bonté de me rappeler au souvenir de toutes les personnes qui nous ont si bien reçus à Boston, et entre autres la famille Otis, M. Coolidge, M. Dwight, M. Everett et M. Quincy Adams, M. Gray, ainsi que le vénérable M. Tuckerman. J'espère que ces Messieurs ne nous oublieront pas plus que nous ne les oublions nous-mêmes.

Je ne vous parle pas de notre ami le Dr. Lieber,<sup>21</sup> parce que M. de Beaumont va lui écrire et se chargera de lui renouveler l'assurance de notre commune amitié.

Je joins à cette lettre le numéro de la *Revue Britannique* et celui du *National* dont je vous ai parlé.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>22</sup>

In his reply (Boston, August 30, 1833), Sparks expressed regret at Tocqueville's inability to find the Vergennes documents and thanked him for his effort to create an interest in the *Life of Gouverneur Morris*.<sup>23</sup> Tocqueville answered from Paris on September 11, 1835. Among other matters, he requested Sparks' opinion of the first two volumes of *La Démocratie en*

1842 with this title: *Mémorial de Gouverneur Morris, par J. Sparks, avec Annotations par A. Gandais*, Paris, Renouard, 2 vols. The translator, Augustin Gandais, omitted some matters of purely American or local interest.

<sup>19</sup> The letter is torn here.

<sup>20</sup> This report was published with the following title: *Du Système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France . . .*, par MM. G. de Beaumont et A. de Tocqueville, Paris, Fournier, 1833, 8°, viii + 439 pp.

<sup>21</sup> In 1833 Francis Lieber published at Philadelphia an English translation of Beaumont and Tocqueville's *Du Système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis*.

<sup>22</sup> Autograph letter, hitherto unpublished, Harvard University Library, Sparks Manuscripts.

<sup>23</sup> This letter is unpublished.

*Amérique*, and manifested surprise that his work had not been translated or even reviewed in the United States.<sup>24</sup> On November 14, 1835, Sparks acknowledge receipt of a complimentary copy of *La Démocratie en Amérique*, and added that Edward Everett was to review it for the *North American Review*.<sup>25</sup> On January 14, 1837, Tocqueville wrote to Sparks: "Un de mes amis s'occupe à ce moment à traduire la vie de Gouverneur Morris." He added that he was working on the second part of his "grand ouvrage sur l'Amérique," in which he would show "l'influence de l'égalité des conditions sur les mœurs. Cette seconde partie du livre formera deux volumes comme la première. . . . Pensez-vous qu'un libraire américain pourrait trouver son intérêt à faire la traduction de ces deux volumes?"<sup>26</sup> Sparks replied on June 6, 1837, deploring the fact that an edition of *La Démocratie en Amérique* had not been published in America. He tried to explain why the work had been coolly received in the United States.<sup>27</sup> He continued: "As to your new work, I will enquire of the publishers, and ascertain what can be done."<sup>28</sup> On July 5, 1837, Sparks informed Tocqueville that he had sounded the "American Stationers' Company (a publishing house of Boston)" concerning a translation of *La Démocratie en Amérique*. "They agree to procure a translation well executed and to publish it in case you do not have another translation published in England."<sup>29</sup> Tocqueville answered as follows:

<sup>24</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> This letter is unpublished. Edward Everett's review appeared in the July number, 1836. Among other words of praise, Everett said: "M. de Tocqueville shows himself to be an original thinker, an acute observer, and an eloquent writer. We regard his work now before us, as by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive, which has been produced in Europe on the subject of America."

<sup>26</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>27</sup> "I am vexed and mortified that an edition of your *Démocratie* has not yet been published in America. The causes might be explained, but I can only hint at them in this letter. The work came out just at the time of the unfortunate "Indemnity Controversy" [between France and the United States, 1835], and then General Jackson's war spirit began to stir up in the people a hostile feeling towards France. Hence little interest was felt for a book by a French writer. Again, our newspapers have been filled with extracts from the English reviews, containing the parts of your work most objectionable to American readers; that is, your remarks on the defects of Democratic institutions." (Quoted by Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 39.)

<sup>28</sup> Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>29</sup> This letter is unpublished.

AU CHÂTEAU DE TOCQUEVILLE,<sup>30</sup> ce 21 août 1837.

*Mon cher Monsieur Sparks,*

J'ai reçu en tems utile les deux lettres que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire le 6 juin et le 5 juillet de la présente année. Je vous remercie infiniment de toute la peine que vous vous êtes donnée pour la traduction de la seconde partie de mon livre. C'est une grande cause de reconnaissance ajoutée à plusieurs autres. Je ne puis accepter la proposition que veut bien me faire la maison de commerce de Boston dont vous me parlez, parce que j'ai promis à un Anglais<sup>31</sup> de mes amis de lui envoyer les épreuves de mon ouvrage à traduire et à publier en Angleterre. Je ne suis donc plus libre de remplir la condition que m'impose le libraire américain. Ne pensons donc plus à ce projet, qui a eu pour moi l'avantage de me prouver l'intérêt que vous me portez. Je tiens beaucoup à tous les amis que j'ai laissés de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique et je reçois toujours avec un grand plaisir des gages de leur souvenir.

J'avais dernièrement chez moi M. de Corcelle<sup>32</sup> et sa femme qui, comme vous le savez, peut-être, est une petite-fille du Général Lafayette. Je leur ai montré l'article de votre lettre qui a rapport à un extrait du journal de Morris qu'on vous a dit avoir déplu à la famille du Général.<sup>33</sup> M. et Mme de Corcelle m'ont chargé de vous remercier de ce que vous dites d'obligeant et d'amical à cette occasion sur leur grand-père et de vous assurer qu'aucun membre de la famille ne vous en a voulu à propos de l'extrait en question et que tous vous conservent une véritable amitié. M. de Beaumont et sa femme,

<sup>30</sup> Tocqueville is in Normandy, fourteen miles east of Cherbourg.

<sup>31</sup> Henry Reeve.

<sup>32</sup> François de Corcelle, statesman, historian, and economist, was one of Tocqueville's closest friends. He married a daughter of Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Lafayette's son-in-law.

<sup>33</sup> In a letter written at Cambridge, Mass., on June 6, 1837, Sparks had said: "I have understood that some of the extracts from Mr. Morris's Diary, respecting General Lafayette, were not satisfactory to his family. At least Mr. [James Fenimore] Cooper has thus asserted in the newspapers since his return to America. Should the translation [of the life of Gouverneur Morris] be printed, I shall be greatly obliged if the translator will omit such passages in the extracts as may seem to speak lightly or disrespectfully of Lafayette. It gives me pain to know that anything has passed through my hands to the public which should wound the sensibilities of any person interested in the fair fame of that distinguished friend to America and to the human race. Whatever Europeans may think, you are well aware that every American cherishes, and ever will cherish, an ardent affection for the name and the character of Lafayette." (The last two sentences of the foregoing extract are quoted by Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 43.)

qui est aussi une petite-fille de Lafayette,<sup>34</sup> me prie de vous tenir le même langage. Ils me sont arrivés hier venant d'Angleterre. Beaumont compte terminer ici, ou du moins fort avancer, un grand travail qu'il prépare depuis deux ans sur l'Irlande et dont j'ai conçu de très belles espérances.<sup>35</sup>

J'apprends avec plaisir que vos affaires commerciales s'améliorent et que bientôt vous sortirez de la crise sans exemple que vous venez d'éprouver.<sup>36</sup> Je vois dans la manière paisible et énergique dont vous vous tirez de la cruelle situation, amenée, je crois, par vos fautes, un trait bien honorable pour la nation et pour sa constitution. C'est là mon impression; mais elle n'est guère partagée en Europe. Il ne faut pas se dissimuler, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, que ce qui se passe en Amérique depuis trois ans ne nuise singulièrement au renom de votre pays de ce côté-ci de l'océan et n'y retarde d'une manière notable le développement des idées et des institutions libérales.<sup>37</sup>

Recevez de nouveau, je vous prie, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, mes remerciements et l'assurance de ma bien sincère amitié.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>38</sup>

On September 5, 1840, Sparks informed Tocqueville that he was in London examining documents relating to the American Revolution, and that, in November, he expected to go to Paris to make similar researches in French offices.<sup>39</sup> Tocqueville replied as follows:

<sup>34</sup> Gustave de Beaumont married a daughter of Washington's godson, George Washington de Lafayette.

<sup>35</sup> Beaumont's work was published at Paris in 1839 with the following title: *L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse*, 2 vols.

<sup>36</sup> The financial crisis of 1837, one of the most severe in the history of the United States, was caused to a great extent by President Jackson's "so-called specie circular, ordering federal agents to receive no other money but gold and silver. This caused such a demand for specie that many State banks fell into difficulties" (Edwin Emerson, *A History of the Nineteenth Century*, II, 877).

<sup>37</sup> Tocqueville may have had in mind "the unfortunate Indemnity Controversy" and "General Jackson's war spirit;" also the popular riots in New York at the time of the first mayoralty election in that city (1834); the Seminole War in Florida (1835-36); the so-called "Gag Law" (1836); the increasing bitterness between the North and the South over slavery.

<sup>38</sup> Autograph letter, hitherto unpublished, Harvard University Library, Sparks Manuscripts.

<sup>39</sup> This letter is unpublished.

## AU CHÂTEAU DE TOCQUEVILLE,

ce 13 octobre 1840.

Je vous demande bien pardon, mon cher monsieur Sparks, de n'avoir pas encore répondu à la lettre que vous m'avez adressée au commencement du mois dernier. Cette lettre a d'abord été me chercher à Paris où je n'étais plus. Elle a de là été renvoyée ici dont j'étais aussi momentanément absent. Il n'y a pas bien longtems que je suis en mesure de vous répondre.

Je suis très heureux que vous ayez approuvé mon rapport sur l'abolition de l'esclavage et qu'il ait été traduit aux États-Unis.<sup>40</sup> J'espère peu, du reste, qu'il fasse une impression utile dans ce pays-là (je parle du Sud). L'esclavage a sur votre sol des racines plus profondes et plus vivaces que partout ailleurs. Ni vous ni moi n'en verrons la fin.<sup>41</sup> C'est pour moi une réflexion bien mélancolique que de penser que votre nation a tellement incorporé à elle-même l'esclavage qu'il grandit avec elle et, suivant ses développemens gigantesques, fait gémir l'humanité de tous les progrès que vous faites, et dont sans cela tous les peuples civilisés devraient se réjouir. Il est presque sans exemple que la servitude ait été abolie par le fait du maître. Elle ne l'a jamais été que par l'effort d'une puissance qui dominait tout à la fois le maître et l'esclave. C'est ce qui fait que l'esclavage durera plus longtems parmi vous que partout ailleurs, parce que vous êtes entièrement indépendants.

Vous m'annoncez une bonne nouvelle en me disant que vous comptez venir à Paris au mois de novembre. Je serai ce mois-là dans cette même ville pour assister aux délibérations de la Chambre des Députés dont je fais partie.<sup>42</sup> J'espère, mon cher Monsieur Sparks, que vous viendrez me voir. Ma femme sera charmée de faire votre connaissance.<sup>43</sup> Je demeure rue Castellane no. 11. Vous pouvez être assuré que je ferai de mon mieux pour favoriser vos recherches historiques dont je connais si bien la valeur.

Croyez, je vous prie, à mon estime et à mon sincère attachement.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The translation is entitled: *Report Made to the Chamber of Deputies on the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies by Alexis de Tocqueville, July 23, 1839, Translated from the French*, Boston, James Munroe and Company, 1840. The translator was Sparks' wife, Mary Crowninshield Sparks.

<sup>41</sup> Tocqueville died on April 16, 1859, Sparks on March 14, 1866.

<sup>42</sup> Tocqueville represented his home district of Valognes in the Chamber of Deputies from 1839 to 1848.

<sup>43</sup> In 1835 Tocqueville married Mary Mottley, the daughter of an English clergyman.

<sup>44</sup> Autograph letter, hitherto unpublished, Harvard University Library, Sparks Manuscripts.



On June 13, 1853, Sparks, then president of Harvard College, wrote Tocqueville a long letter concerning "the material prosperity," "the mental culture," and "certain dangerous tendencies of democracy" in the United States ("spirit of conquest and adventure" and slavery).<sup>45</sup>

The fourth unpublished letter written by Tocqueville to Sparks is dated at Paris, July 15, 1857. It runs as follows:

*Cher Monsieur Sparks,*

J'espère que vous me pardonnerez de ne vous envoyer mon livre<sup>46</sup> qu'un an après son apparition et lorsqu'il a déjà eu trois éditions. Vous auriez dû être un des premiers Américains auxquels j'offrisse ce livre, car je n'ai point en Amérique de plus cher ami que vous. Une circonstance bien malheureuse m'a empêché de réaliser sur ce point mon désir. Au moment où mon livre paraissait l'an dernier, j'avais le malheur de perdre mon père, auquel j'étais très tendrement attaché.<sup>47</sup> Cet événement m'a si vivement impressionné et troublé que j'ai quitté Paris immédiatement après qu'il eut eu lieu, sans prendre aucune mesure pour distribuer mon œuvre à mes amis. Quand j'y suis revenu, il y a peu de mois, la seconde édition de mon *Ancien Régime* était épuisée. Il a fallu attendre la troisième, puis une occasion pour vous envoyer le volume que je vous destinais. La meilleure de toutes les occasions vient de se présenter. Notre ami M. Ticknor<sup>48</sup> quitte l'Europe pour retourner dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Il veut bien se charger de vous apporter mon ouvrage. Veuillez, cher Monsieur Sparks, le recevoir avec indulgence et comme un témoignage de tous les sentiments d'estime et d'amitié que je ressens pour vous.

Si vous me répondez, le plus sûr pour le faire est de m'adresser vos lettres à l'*Institut, aux soins de M. Pingard, chef du secrétariat*. Celui-ci me les fera parvenir au lieu que j'habiterai dans le moment. Je serais très heureux de savoir par vous-même comment vous vous portez, ce que vous faites, à quel travail vous êtes occupé (je sais que vous ne pouvez rester oisif). Tout ce que vous me direz sur votre pays sera aussi plein d'intérêt pour moi. La crise dans laquelle le jette la question de l'esclavage est le sujet de mes inquiétudes et je

<sup>45</sup> For this interesting letter, see Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>46</sup> *L'Ancien Régime et la révolution*, Paris, 1856.

<sup>47</sup> Tocqueville's father died on June 9, 1856.

<sup>48</sup> Tocqueville made the acquaintance of George Ticknor in Boston in 1831. Concerning Ticknor's house as "the center of the literary society of the time," see Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Boston, 1877-1893, III, 9.

voudrais que vous pussiez me rassurer sur l'avenir de l'Union, auquel est peut-être attaché celui de la liberté dans le monde.

Adieu, cher Monsieur Sparks, croyez à tous mes sentiments d'estime et d'amitié.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>49</sup>

Paris, ce 15 juillet 1857.

The final letter from Sparks to Tocqueville was written at Cambridge, Mass., on December 28, 1858.<sup>50</sup> In it Sparks bestowed high praise on Tocqueville's *Ancien Régime* and referred briefly to the slavery question. Less than four months later Tocqueville died of pulmonary tuberculosis at Cannes (April 16, 1859).

#### TOCQUEVILLE AND CHARLES SUMNER

Charles Sumner, the American statesman, esteemed Tocqueville highly.<sup>51</sup> In his diary, Sumner wrote (Paris, April 4, 1857): "M. de Tocqueville called. His conversation was quite interesting."<sup>52</sup> Again on April 14: "Went to De Tocqueville's on invitation; found him as usual amiable and interesting, and full of feeling against slavery."<sup>53</sup> On April 23 Sumner wrote from Paris to Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Boston: "Paris is very gay and beautiful, and abounding in interesting people. Of those I have seen, Tocqueville and Guizot have impressed me most. They are very superior men; I am disposed to believe them the first men in France."<sup>54</sup>

The earliest of the following four unpublished letters written by Tocqueville to Sumner is dated at Tocqueville, August 6, 1847. It deals entirely with the question of prison discipline, to study which, it will be remembered, Tocqueville and Beaumont came to the United States in 1831. In 1893, Edward L. Pierce explained thus the points at issue:

<sup>49</sup> Autograph letter, hitherto unpublished, Harvard University Library, Sparks Manuscripts.

<sup>50</sup> Published by Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>51</sup> Sumner made the acquaintance of Tocqueville in 1838 or 1839, during one of his visits to Paris. See Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, II, 83, note 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 531.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 535.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 526.

"During the period 1825-1850 there was an earnest contention in this country on prison discipline, between the partisans of the separate or Pennsylvania system—which enforced the absolute separation of convicts from one another by day as well as by night—and those of the congregate or Auburn system, which, while requiring solitary confinement at night, allowed the convicts, under restrictions, to work side by side, and during religious exercises to sit together. The comparative advantages of the two systems in promoting the prisoner's reformation, keeping him in good physical and mental condition, and giving him useful industrial training were contested points. The separate system, first tried in Pennsylvania, drew the attention of European philanthropists and publicists, and their reports after personal inspection were uniformly in its favor. It was established in Belgium, where it is still continued in full vigor; but elsewhere in Europe the congregate or some mixed system now prevails. In this country the separate system survives only at Philadelphia."<sup>66</sup>

Tocqueville's letter follows:

*Mon cher Monsieur,*

J'ai lu dans le [Boston] *Daily Advertiser* du 1<sup>er</sup> juin le compte rendu de la séance dans laquelle vous avez proposé à la Société des Prisons de Boston<sup>66</sup> une résolution dont l'esprit était de déclarer que cette société ne devait pas être considérée comme *the pledged advocate* du système d'Auburn ou de tout autre système, et qu'elle était décidée à les juger tous sans parti pris d'avance et sans préjugé.<sup>67</sup> J'ai appris depuis par le même journal que la société avait refusé d'adopter la résolution. Ce vote m'a surpris et peiné. Je porte un très vif intérêt à la réforme des prisons et j'ai toujours professé un respectueux attachement pour la société qui m'a fait l'honneur de m'admettre spontanément dans son sein et qui jouit d'un si juste renom dans le monde philanthropique; c'est sous l'impression de ces deux sentimens que j'ai senti le désir de vous écrire.

Le vote dont je viens de parler causera, je ne crains pas de le dire, une pénible surprise à presque tous ceux qui en Europe s'occupent de la question des prisons. Ils l'interpréteront comme un engagement solennel pris par la société de se faire désormais le champion du système d'Auburn et l'adversaire systématique de l'emprisonnement individuel. De juge elle semblera être devenue partie.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 79.

<sup>67</sup> The Boston Prison Discipline Society was founded in 1825.

<sup>68</sup> For these resolutions, see *ibid.*, III, 87.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous apprendre qu'aujourd'hui en Europe la discussion et l'expérience ont, au contraire, amené presque tous les esprits à adopter le système de l'emprisonnement individuel et à repousser le système d'Auburn. La plupart des gouvernements de l'ancien monde se sont plus ou moins prononcés dans ce sens, non pas tout à coup, mais après un sérieux examen et de longs débats. Je ne parlerai ici que des deux grandes nations libres d'Europe, celles que je connais le mieux, et qui sont les plus dignes de faire autorité parce qu'elles ne se décident qu'après des discussions qui ont lieu à la face du pays, et qu'elles n'obéissent qu'à l'opinion publique, la France et l'Angleterre. Chez ces deux peuples je puis vous assurer que le système d'Auburn est presque universellement repoussé. La plupart de ceux qui avaient jadis penché vers ce système l'ont complètement abandonné en le discutant, ou en le voyant à l'œuvre, et ont adopté en tout, ou en partie, le système de l'emprisonnement individuel. Les deux gouvernements ont suivi la même tendance. Vous savez que le gouvernement français a présenté, il y a peu d'années, une loi dont l'emprisonnement individuel était la base.<sup>58</sup> Cette loi, après une discussion de cinq semaines, la plus longue et la plus approfondie qui ait jamais eu lieu sur aucune question dans notre parlement, a été votée à une *immense majorité*. Si cette même loi n'a pas encore été discutée à la chambre des Pairs, cela tient à des circonstances entièrement étrangères à la question pénitentiaire. La chambre des Pairs s'en occupera à l'ouverture de la session prochaine, et, parmi les hommes les plus considérables de cette chambre, la plupart se sont déjà hautement prononcés en faveur de son principe. Dans la Presse, presque tous les journaux soutiennent le système de l'emprisonnement individuel. Le journal qui avait le plus habilement et le plus vivement combattu ce système s'est récemment déclaré convaincu de sa bonté. Ce changement a été produit en partie par les expériences faites depuis plusieurs années dans un grand nombre de nos prisons. Aussi y a-t-il lieu de douter que, quand la loi sera reportée à la chambre des Députés, il se trouve personne pour en combattre le principe.

Dans cet état des faits et des esprits, le vote que vient d'émettre une société aussi éclairée et aussi célèbre que la société de Boston ne sera pas compris parmi nous, et je ne puis, je vous l'avoue, m'empêcher de craindre qu'il ne nuise à la haute considération dont elle jouit de ce côté de l'océan, ou que, tout au moins, il n'y diminue son autorité. Je le regret-

<sup>58</sup> Compare the following publication: *Rapport du projet de loi sur les prisons, par M. de Tocqueville, Député de la Manche, Paris, 1843.*

terais vivement, non seulement dans l'intérêt d'une association dont je me fais honneur de faire partie, mais aussi dans l'intérêt de l'humanité dont elle pourrait servir si puissamment la cause.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération très distinguée.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE,  
Membre de l'Institut et de  
la chambre des Députés.<sup>59</sup>

Tocqueville, ce 6 août 1847.

The despicable assault on Sumner by Preston S. Brooks, member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, occurred in the Senate chamber on May 22, 1856. The blows dealt by Brooks with a gutta-percha cane so shattered Sumner's health that, after almost a year of suffering, he was obliged to go to Europe to recuperate. He arrived at Havre on March 21, 1857. After a brief sojourn in Paris (where he saw Tocqueville several times) and in the French provinces, he went to London (June 16). Seven weeks later he was in Normandy, the guest of Tocqueville (August 11-14). In order that Sumner might reach the château de Tocqueville with the least possible difficulty, Tocqueville outlined for him an itinerary: from England to Jersey, thence to Granville and Cherbourg (or Valognes), and finally from Cherbourg or Valognes to Tocqueville. Inasmuch as Tocqueville was not sure that Sumner would disembark at Granville, he added directions for the *chemin par Dieppe ou le Havre ou Calais*. This document seems to be not a letter, but a note that was enclosed in a letter.

Il part plusieurs fois des côtes d'Angleterre, de Weymouth . . .<sup>60</sup> chaque semaine, de très bons paquebots qui vont

<sup>59</sup> Autograph letter, Harvard University Library, MSS. Amer., 1. 4, carton 130, no. 72. Ten years later Tocqueville was not so warm an advocate of the separate system of imprisonment. On April 13, 1857, Sumner wrote in his diary: "I inquired of De Tocqueville about prison discipline. For some years he had left this subject, being entirely absorbed in other directions, and he thought the separate system had lost ground with the government. When arrested on the morning of the *Coup d'état*, he was sent to Vincennes in one of the *voitures cellulaires* which he had helped to introduce, and thus had a practical opportunity of trying. He was profoundly convinced that the cellular system, even if abandoned for long terms, ought to be established for short terms, and in houses of detention" (Pierce, *op. cit.*, III, 534).

<sup>60</sup> The paper is torn here. One word is illegible.

à Granville en touchant à Jersey. La côte de Granville est en elle-même curieuse à visiter: près de Granville, au sud, se trouve le *Mont St. Michel*, l'un des plus beaux et des plus curieux spécimens de l'architecture gothique, placé sur un rocher au milieu de la mer. Près de Granville, au nord, sur la route de Cherbourg, se trouve *Coutances*, dont la position et la cathédrale sont célèbres.

De Granville à Cherbourg, il y a deux fois par jour, je crois, une diligence qui mène en 8 ou 10 heures à Cherbourg. Si on le préfère, on peut s'arrêter à 5 lieues de Cherbourg, dans la ville de Valognes, où l'on trouve facilement un cabriolet ou une calèche pour gagner Tocqueville. Peut-être serait-il mieux cependant de pousser jusqu'à Cherbourg où l'on trouve une meilleure auberge (*hôtel de l'Europe*) et de meilleures voitures. Le tems nécessaire pour aller de Cherbourg à Tocqueville est plus court que pour aller de Valognes à Tocqueville.

Tout le chemin entre Granville et Cherbourg fait traverser la Normandie historique et héroïque, celle qui a fourni à Guillaume le Conquérant une partie de ses soldats; celle où sont nés les Tancrède de Hauteville qui ont conquis la Sicile, ainsi que leurs principaux compagnons.

*Chemin par Dieppe ou le Havre ou Calais.*

Du Havre à Cherbourg, il y a deux fois par semaine un paquebot qui rend, en 7 ou 8 heures, de l'une de ces villes à l'autre.

Si l'on veut prendre la voie de terre, il faut gagner *Caen* par la ligne la plus courte. De Caen, il part tous les jours deux diligences qui vont en 8 ou 9 heures à Cherbourg.

*Nota.* Demander la demeure de M. Alexis de Tocqueville près St. Pierre-Église<sup>61</sup> et non celle de M. le comte de Tocqueville. Celui-ci est mon frère aîné,<sup>62</sup> et comme il possède aussi une terre<sup>63</sup> aux environs de Cherbourg, on pourrait faire confusion.

M. ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE,  
à Tocqueville, par St. Pierre-Église,  
(Manche).<sup>64</sup>

Sumner followed Tocqueville's instructions closely. After a visit with Richard Cobden at Midhurst (England), he went to

<sup>61</sup> A town of 1,900 inhabitants in the arrondissement of Cherbourg.

<sup>62</sup> Hippolyte de Tocqueville.

<sup>63</sup> The château de Nacqueville.

<sup>64</sup> Autograph, Harvard University Library, MSS. Amer., I. 4, carton 133, no. 61. Some one—not Tocqueville—has written "June, '57" on the manuscript.



Weymouth, thence to Jersey and Granville. At Granville, he says, "the secretary of the mayor handed me a most hospitable letter from M. de Tocqueville." From Granville, he

"took the diligence for Coutances (eighteen miles). . . . At six o'clock [A.M., August 11] was in a coupé for Valognes. . . . At Valognes hired a char-à-bancs, with one horse and a man, to drive me to Tocqueville, where I arrived about five o'clock; kindly received; château three or four centuries old; was warned particularly by M. de T. not to wear a white cravat at dinner—that the habits of country life in France were less formal than in England. Nobody here but M. and Madame de T. and an elderly French lady."<sup>65</sup>

After a hurried tour of one month in France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, Sumner reached London on September 19. He spent seven weeks in the British Isles, visiting among other friends the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle (Scotland). On November 19, 1857, he was back in Boston, Mass.

The following letter, written about the time of Sumner's return to the United States, contains information relating to Tocqueville's private affairs that cannot be found elsewhere. The interest of this document is heightened by references to the financial crisis of 1857 and to the question of slavery in Kansas.

TOCQUEVILLE, PAR ST. PIERRE-ÉGLISE (MANCHE),  
ce 14 novembre 1857.

Je commençais à croire, cher Monsieur Sumner, que vous nous aviez oubliés et que les splendeurs de Dunrobin Castle avait jeté l'ombre la plus épaisse sur la petite gentilhommière de Tocqueville. Mais je vous calomniais. Car, au milieu de

<sup>65</sup> For the remainder of Sumner's account of his three-days' sojourn at Tocqueville (walks, drives, and calls in the region, conversation and reading), see Pierce, *op. cit.*, III, 548.

In a letter to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, dated at Paris, August 18, 1857, Sumner wrote: "I am just from the Château de Tocqueville, in a distant corner of France, fifteen miles from Cherbourg. . . . The château is some four centuries old. The staircase of heavy granite, by which I reached my chamber, was built before Christopher Columbus sailed on his first voyage. It is so broad and capable that an ancestor of my host amused himself by ascending it on horseback. There are two round towers, such as you see in pictures, with walls six feet thick . . ." (Samuel Longfellow, *Life of H. W. L.*, Boston, 1891, II, 338).

votre vie si agitée et si agréablement occupée, vous avez trouvé le tems de penser à nous, et vous m'avez écrit une lettre fort amicale, dont je vous remercie.

Puisque vous voilà de retour en Amérique, je souhaiterais bien que vous me donniez un renseignement qu'il m'importe beaucoup d'avoir. Je compte sur la netteté de votre esprit et sur votre bon jugement pour me le donner de façon à me le rendre utile. J'ai quelques fonds placés en Amérique. Je vais vous nommer les entreprises dans lesquelles ils sont placés, dans l'ordre d'importance des fonds.

1. *Michigan Central Railway*. J'ai des *Bonds* de cette compagnie. D'après les renseignements qui m'ont déjà été fournis par M. Baring,<sup>66</sup> par le conseil duquel j'ai pris ces *Bonds*, cette compagnie, bien qu'embarrassée, doit se relever. Ce chemin est excellent; il n'a cessé d'augmenter ses profits depuis quelques années, et les *porteurs des Bonds* ne peuvent craindre une perte sérieuse. Mes principaux fonds sont là.

2. *Chicago and Galena Railway*. J'ai aussi des *Bonds* de cette compagnie, mais en moindre quantité que dans Michigan Central.

3. *Marietta and Cincinnati Railway*. Je n'ai que deux *Bonds* dans cette entreprise.

4. Enfin je possède un très petit nombre de *Shares* (actions) de *Lacrosse and Milwaukee Railroad*.

Vous comprenez combien il m'importe d'être au courant de tout ce qui se passe relativement à ces chemins, surtout à ceux de Michigan et de Galena. Ce serait me rendre un véritable *service d'ami* que de m'informer, tant que cette terrible crise durera, du sort de ces entreprises et de tout ce qui les regarde d'important. Je vous demande de me rendre ce service-là, et j'espère, cher Monsieur Sumner, que vous ne me refuserez pas dans les circonstances critiques où nous sommes. Des fonds, placés comme ceux que je possède sur Michigan et Galena, seraient en Europe à l'abri de toutes les crises; mais la convulsion financière qui agite votre pays est si violente qu'il est impossible de dire ce qui peut survenir dans une circonstance aussi exceptionnelle.<sup>67</sup> Ceci, bien entendu, doit rester entre nous. Je ne vous parle ainsi de mes affaires que pour *vous seul*.

Je n'oublie point la promesse que je vous ai faite de vous tenir au courant des affaires de l'Europe. Mais comme vous

<sup>66</sup> English banker.

<sup>67</sup> The financial crisis of 1857 was caused by a too rapid building of railways in sparsely settled regions. The failure of settlers to come as fast as was anticipated led to a fall in railway shares. Hence Tocqueville's anxiety.

venez de quitter notre continent, il n'y a encore rien à vous apprendre. La crise financière d'Amérique nous atteindra tous, j'en suis convaincu; et les affaires d'argent vont devenir pour quelque tems les plus grandes affaires pour chaque gouvernement.

J'ai vu avec plaisir que les habitants du Kansas avaient fait une élection dans le sens de la liberté! Dieu veuille que l'esclavage soit vaincu sur ce sol contesté! Ayez soin, je vous prie, de me dire dans votre réponse (que je vous prie de m'adresser le plus tôt possible) dans quel état vous avez trouvé à votre retour cette question de l'esclavage qui vous intéresse si particulièrement.

Mille amitiés à votre frère.<sup>68</sup> Ne m'oubliez pas auprès de la famille Ticknor, si vous la rencontrez à Boston. Ma femme veut être rappelée particulièrement à votre souvenir. Croyez à tous mes sentiments d'estime et d'amitié.

A. DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>69</sup>

The fourth and final letter from Tocqueville to Sumner was written at a time when the political situation in both France and the United States was becoming more and more tense, so tense in France that Tocqueville did not dare discuss French public affairs in a letter. His interest in American politics was as keen as ever. The Kansas question, slavery, the pain caused by rumors that in the United States a breed of uncouth, dishonest "public men" was springing up—these are the topics that make this last letter perhaps the most interesting that Tocqueville penned to either Jared Sparks or Charles Sumner.

TOCQUEVILLE, PAR ST. PIERRE-ÉGLISE (MANCHE),

ce 28 mars '58.

Il y a très longtemps, cher Monsieur Sumner, que j'ai le désir de vous écrire pour vous remercier des renseignements utiles que vous nous avez donnés relativement à nos affaires de fortune.<sup>70</sup> J'en suis empêché par la crainte de vous déranger. Vous devez, en effet, avoir en ce moment bien autre chose à faire que de lire des lettres d'Europe qui ne peuvent vous rien

<sup>68</sup> George Sumner (1817-1863), younger brother of Charles, made Paris his home from 1838 to 1852.

<sup>69</sup> Autograph letter, Harvard University Library, MSS. Amer., 1. 4, carton 133, no. 267.

<sup>70</sup> See preceding letter.

apprendre. Il devient de plus en plus dangereux pour les Français d'écrire sur l'état des affaires publiques. Ne vous attendez donc pas à ce que je vous parle politique, à moins que cela ne soit politique américaine. Celle-ci, du reste, me préoccupe, aussi, beaucoup; mais j'ai beau lire ce que nous apprennent les journaux, j'ai grand'peine à y rien comprendre. Le Kansas sera-t-il condamné aux horreurs de l'esclavage? Échappera-t-il enfin à cette destinée?<sup>71</sup> Comme ami de l'Amérique et de l'humanité, je m'intéresse vivement à la réponse que vous pourrez faire à cette question.

On commence à vous accuser beaucoup en Europe de faire la traite. Je ne sais si cette accusation est fondée. Non seulement la traite pour le compte des pays où l'esclavage est encore établi; mais la traite pour votre propre compte. On parle de tems à autre dans nos journaux de cargaison de noirs débarquée dans les états du Sud qui bordent le Golfe du Mexique. Y a-t-il quelque chose de fondé dans cette accusation?<sup>72</sup>

Mais ce qui vous nuit plus que cela dans l'opinion de l'Europe, où l'on ne s'occupe pas beaucoup, comme vous savez, de l'esclavage, c'est la conduite qu'on commence à attribuer à un grand nombre de ceux qui s'occupent des affaires publiques en Amérique et qui mènent soit celles des états particuliers, soit celles de l'Union. On ne cesse de nous raconter des anecdotes sans doute fausses ou exagérées, mais qui toutes tendent à faire croire à l'opinion Européenne qu'en Amérique la plupart des hommes publics manquent de modération, quelquefois de probité, surtout d'éducation, et qu'ils appartiennent à une race d'aventuriers politiques, race énergique, intelligente, mais violente, grossière, et sans principes. Remarquez que je suis bien loin de dire que cela soit. Je parle seulement de l'impression publique et du mal qui en résulte pour l'Amérique et ses institutions. Comme je porte à votre nation l'intérêt le plus vif, je souffre souvent en entendant les discours qu'on tient en France et même en Angleterre sur elle. Sans admettre, ainsi que je le disais plus haut, ce qu'on raconte, je suis porté à croire que le mouvement d'une démocratie illimitée appelle souvent chez vous au gouvernement de la société des hommes qui sont plus faits pour obéir que pour commander, et qu'enfin, *en gros*, les gouvernants sont inférieurs aux gouvernés. Me trompais-je?

Je suis toujours resté ici depuis que je vous y ai vu, toujours menant la vie tout à la fois studieuse et agricole que vous

<sup>71</sup> Kansas became a free state in 1859.

<sup>72</sup> The accusation was well founded. See J. B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, VIII, 344, 350-351.

connaissiez. Mais voici le moment où je vais être obligé de retourner à Paris. Comme j'ignore où je demeurerai dans cette ville, je vous prie d'adresser votre réponse à *l'Institut à Paris, aux soins de M. Pingard*. Je compte revenir ici dans peu de mois.

Donnez-nous de vos nouvelles. Croyez que personne en Europe ne s'intéresse plus que nous à en avoir de bonnes. Rappelez-nous au souvenir de votre frère.

A. DE TOCQUEVILLE.<sup>73</sup>

The letters written by Tocqueville to Sparks and Sumner show that the author of *La Démocratie en Amérique* took a deep interest in the United States and in his American friends almost to the time of his death in 1859.<sup>74</sup>

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

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<sup>73</sup> Autograph letter, Harvard University Library, MSS. Amer., I. 4, carton 134, no. 13.

<sup>74</sup> Elsewhere we learn that, nearly a quarter of a century after his voyage to the New World, Tocqueville's recollection of American scenes was still vivid. In a letter to Gustave de Beaumont, dated at Compiègne, February 21, 1855, he rejoiced in the fact that he had kept "jusqu'à ce jour le même ami avec lequel je chassais les perroquets à Memphis," and mentioned "les bois du Tennessee que nous parcourions il y a bientôt vingt-cinq ans" (*Œuvres complètes d'A. de T.*, VI, 288). In a letter to the Comtesse de Circourt (Sorrento, February 14, 1851), he criticized Chateaubriand's fantastic descriptions of the American wilderness:

"Les hommes ont la rage de vouloir orner le vrai au lieu de chercher seulement à le bien peindre. Les plus grands écrivains ont donné quelquefois dans ce travers-là. M. de Chateaubriand lui-même a peint le véritable désert, celui du moins que je connais, avec des couleurs fausses. Il semble avoir, en Amérique, traversé sans la voir cette forêt éternelle, humide, froide, morne, sombre et muette, qui vous suit sur le haut des montagnes, descend avec vous au fond des vallées, et qui donne plus que l'Océan lui-même l'idée de l'immensité de la nature et de la petitesse ridicule de l'homme" (*ibid.*, VI, 172).

## LE MAL, FORCE DRAMATIQUE CHEZ M. LENORMAND

"Il est agréable que quelques explosions de vraie vérité sautent ainsi au visage de tous ces complimenteurs de l'humanité, de tous ces dorloteurs et endormeurs qui répètent sur toutes les variations possibles de ton: 'Je suis né bon et vous aussi, et nous tous nous sommes nés bons!' oubliant, non feignant d'oublier, ces égalitaires à contre-sens, que nous sommes tous nés marqués pour le mal."—*Baudelaire*.

DEPUIS quelques années, et surtout à l'étranger, M. H-R. Lenormand passionne notre génération: on le dédaigne, on en rit, on s'enthousiasme; il a parmi les jeunes des admirateurs violents et des défenseurs passionnés.

C'est qu'il a osé plus que d'autres par sa dramatisation de l'inconscient, le moi inconnu, le moi véritable de l'homme. Ce moi repose essentiellement sur des instincts primordiaux auxquels viennent s'ajouter des volitions, des désirs refoulés, des haines étouffées, des inhibitions consciemment et inconsciemment terrassées. Ce moi manifeste son existence chez presque tous, plus ou moins fortement suivant les circonstances, l'état de santé, le climat, le tempérament. Peut-être chez les races dites latines où les passions sont moins réprimées que chez les Anglo-Saxons, la présence du moi inconscient a-t-elle été reconnue moins tôt, mais il est symptomatique que les deux dramaturges qui exercent l'influence la plus considérable sur le théâtre contemporain par leur dramatisation de l'irréel qu'ils nomment le réel, je veux dire Messieurs Pirandello et Lenormand, sont tous deux des Latins.<sup>1</sup>

Cette question de l'inconscient ne considère pas seulement ce qu'on appelle le freudisme. Sans doute on ne peut nier l'influence de Freud sur certaines pièces de M. Lenormand (*Le Simoun*, *Le Mangeur de Rêves*). Mais il faut s'entendre. Il est avéré que M. Lenormand n'a lu l'*Introduction à la psychanalyse*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 11: "The French theatre which before the war was the most insular, the most traditional, the most obstinately remote from immediate realities, is now the most cosmopolitan, the most revolutionary and the most feverishly responsive to the influence of contemporary events and impulses."



qu'en 1917-18 et que la plupart de ses pièces étaient déjà écrites. Mais il aperçoit immédiatement les possibilités dramatiques des cas de psychanalyse,<sup>2</sup> d'autant plus qu'il avait déjà limité son propre champ dramatique à l'action intérieure et surtout semi ou sub-consciente.

Depuis longtemps il avait reconnu la puissance du mal que nous portons en nous, puissance indépendante dans l'homme et avec laquelle il faut compter. On l'avait un peu oubliée depuis que cet illusionniste Rousseau avait proclamé que l'homme était né bon et que la société le rendait mauvais. Mais qu'est-ce qu'être mauvais et qu'est-ce qu'être bon? On nous disait: retournez à la nature et vous retrouverez cette bonté native qui fait la dignité de l'homme.

Mais que l'homme regarde la nature, et il voit la lutte pour la vie qui est le fondement de toute existence, féroce, inconsciente, indifférente. L'instinct de la vie demande que l'on mange et que l'on procréé. Les créatures qui triomphent sont celles qui sont rassasiées et dont la race s'est multipliée. Ainsi la grande nature, féconde, incestueuse, d'un égoïsme magnifique, nous donne une leçon contraire à la religion et à la morale.<sup>3</sup>

Rousseau eût plutôt dû dire que la civilisation crée en l'homme le sens du mal et par conséquent du bien. En soi la nature est amoral.

Mais sur le terrain vierge des grands instincts, peu à peu la religion et la morale ont créé dans l'homme des habitudes, presque des instincts nouveaux qui ont réfréné l'instinct primordial et l'ont nommé péché ou mal. Toute vertu est lutte ou contrôle,

<sup>2</sup> M. Lenormand a écrit une nouvelle *Fidélité* qui s'attarde à raconter avec des détails minutieux et émouvants un cas de névrose raconté sèchement dans l'*Introduction* de M. Freud. (Voir: H-R Lenormand, *L'Armée secrète*, pp. 121 à 179.) Sans doute M. Lenormand n'a pas tiré de cette nouvelle une pièce; il semble qu'il ait assez l'habitude d'étudier dans des nouvelles les principaux caractères de ses pièces, comme *À l'écart* qui prépare à *Une Vie secrète*, *Le penseur et la créline* et *Le Col* qui préparent à quelques scènes de *La Dent rouge*, *l'Armée secrète*, *Le Lâche*. Je m'imagine volontiers que s'il n'a pas dramatisé *Fidélité* c'est qu'il répugne au freudisme pur.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. dans *La Fille sauvage* de François de Curel (Acte II): les paroles du Roi à Paul: "... tu tâches d'observer si les pauvres hères qui vivent au sein de la nature sont bons. Je m'étonne qu'il t'ait fallu six ans pour constater qu'ils sont voleurs, cruels, menteurs, lubriques, odieux et repoussants."

et la réalité n'est pas la réalité de la vie civilisée, mais la réalité du moi profond, de l'inconscient, plus ancien que le conscient. L'homme est arrivé à cette vie consciente par une longue et pénible lutte contre la nature et contre sa nature. Et sans doute cela était bien, puisque cette habitude lui a donné une vie plus sûre, plus facile, et a développé sa puissance de penser et de raisonner.

L'autre Moi n'est pas détruit. Il faut se rendre compte qu'au début des âges il avait une chance de survie ou de victoire égale à celle de la puissance du bien, peut-être une chance supérieure. Que la puissance du mal, de l'injustice, ait été choisie comme code de la vie, la puissance du bien devenait la puissance adverse; la justice, la pitié étaient péché et faiblesse. Ces possibilités que portaient en soi l'instinct du mal, il les porte encore à l'état atrophié ou latent. Cette force profite de tout défaut d'équilibre chez l'homme dit civilisé. Elle profite de ce que la raison repose (état de rêve), de ce que l'organisme est affaibli (surtout dans les maladies mentales); de ce que l'homme placé dans un milieu différent, sous un climat énervant, débilité par la chaleur, affaibli par l'exemple de populations primitives ne peut plus lutter contre elle; elle profite du terrain plus vierge de certaines natures artistiques, de celles que poursuit l'éternel désir d'exprimer des formes ou des sons, dont l'homme jouisse obscurément, voluptueusement, et non point d'une façon apprise, raisonnée, satisfaisante.

Il est aisé de percevoir les possibilités dramatiques d'une telle force qui doit inévitablement entrer en conflit avec la raison, la religion, les habitudes de la vie; à certaines époques surtout, où le doute religieux, et peut-être surtout le doute philosophique, a affaibli la puissance de résistance, ou la volonté de résistance de l'homme. A notre époque plus que jamais où la guerre a réveillé pour s'en servir les instincts primordiaux. Bien des valeurs ont changé. Des coquins, des apaches, faisaient leur devoir de tuerie aussi bien que les lettrés et les philosophes, et certainement le faisaient plus facilement. Tout homme a dû consciemment ou inconsciemment se servir des forces du mal qu'il portait en lui pour répondre aux nécessités de l'époque. La guerre finie, il ne peut plus (et cela d'autant plus qu'il est

plus civilisé) retourner immédiatement à sa quiétude, comme il n'est possible de licensier en quelques jours une immense armée qui s'est battue des années.<sup>4</sup>

Cette lutte "entre l'homme et son hôte inconnu qui est lui-même, son véritable Moi" <sup>5</sup> voilà un des moyens dramatiques chez M. Lenormand; lutte ou abandon à cette force redoutable "qui règne au plus profond de l'âme pour forger sa destinée mais que nul n'aperçoit, car enfermé dans son drame chacun méconnaît l'autre. Tous les cœurs sont murés." <sup>6</sup>

Si dans presque toutes les pièces de M. Lenormand le mal est une des forces dramatiques, son action est particulièrement caractérisée dans *Une Vie secrète* et surtout *À l'Ombre du Mal*, le caractère de Fearon dans *le Mangeur de Rêves*, le caractère d'Aïescha dans *le Simoun*, offrent des points intéressants pour notre étude.

#### *Une Vie secrète*

Sarterre, le musicien, choque et enthousiasme le monde artistique par une symphonie nouvelle. Il se sent tout puissant parce qu'il a su abolir en lui le bien ou la vertu, c'est-à-dire le contrôle du *moi* primitif, ce qu'on appelle la conscience. Il est redevenu l'homme élémentaire pour qui le vice ou la noblesse n'existent pas. La grande inspiration pour sa symphonie c'est dans la jungle qu'il l'a trouvée, parmi l'amour de corps noirs offerts, au milieu de la vie élémentaire, grouillante, prodigue, où on n'obéit à d'autres lois qu'à celles de l'amour et de la mort. Ce qu'il a traduit c'est l'infini désir de la nature primitive, qui se renouvelle incessamment et n'est jamais satisfait. Cet art "inhumain" est donc essentiellement humain puisqu'il traduit non la vie civilisée mais la vie essentielle. Revenu en Europe, l'inspiration manque à Sarterre. Au contact des luttes, des scrupules, il s'éloigne des principes de la vie élémentaire. Il ne retrouve la source de sa musique que dans la fonction la plus primitive de l'homme: l'amour physique et non domestiqué, mais livré au hasard des rencontres, de la fantaisie. Il a

<sup>4</sup> Cf. François de Curel, dans *La Viveuse et le Moribond*, Acte II, Scène VIII: *Philippe*: "Je suis composé de deux hommes . . . (jusqu'à:). . . Il est à côté de moi, devant vous."

<sup>5</sup> Daniel-Rops, *Notre Inquiétude*, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel-Rops, *Id.*, p. 253.

dévoiyé une jeune fille, *Vera*, que sa femme avait sauvé de la morphine et d'un penchant délétère à la destruction de soi-même. Est-ce parce que Vera n'est arrivée à une vie saine que par un long combat qu'il sent l'artifice d'une telle résurrection? Il l'entraîne plus bas qu'elle n'a jamais été, et pendant toutes ces orgies il note les désirs éphémères, les angoisses courtes, les exaltations, les souffrances, les plaisirs. Et la musique rend les forces primitives qui demeurent au-dessous de notre civilisation. Mais dès que, à l'aide de sa femme qui l'aime profondément, il a analysé, disséqué cette disposition à peu près inconsciente chez lui, dès qu'il connaît la pitié, s'éteint en lui toute inspiration. L'amour de sa femme a tué en lui l'artiste parce qu'elle a aboli l'homme primitif. Il ne retrouvera plus jamais l'énorme joie de la nature, ni du désir qui ne tient compte ni de la mort ni de la souffrance. Mais son pouvoir créateur sera à nouveau libéré par la mort de Vera qui se tue en sortant de chez lui. De l'angoisse qu'il a ressentie devant les atroces souffrances de la jeune femme, s'élève un chant de vie et d'amour. Ce n'est point un chant de pitié, mais un besoin de réparer en disant "les paroles fraîches et neuves" qui auraient pu rendre à Vera le désir de la vie.

Le drame dans cette pièce est d'autant plus intéressant qu'il apparaît lorsque l'homme ne s'abandonne plus aux forces primitives ou amoraux. Dans une lutte qui a précédé la pièce, Sarterre s'est débarrassé de son âme humaine.<sup>7</sup> Il n'a gardé que son âme d'artiste, c'est-à-dire celle qui, se rapprochant de la grande nature et s'y mélangeant, peut trouver des sons qui émouvront les entrailles des hommes.<sup>8</sup> Il lui faut pour créer être "innocent comme une panthère." Ah comme il la méprise notre Europe trop civilisée et "retournée comme un champ de pommes de terre."—"Moi, dit Sarterre, je tire ma musique des îles sauvages, de la terre crue et du soleil qui m'a brûlé. . . . Tant pis pour ceux que je scandalise, tant pis pour ceux que mon art détruit! Je suis une force aussi aveugle, aussi méchante,

<sup>7</sup> *Une Vie secrète* (Acte I, Scène XIV): Sarterre: . . . "J'ai profité d'un moment où personne ne me voyait . . . (jusqu'à:). . . Elle ne remontera plus."

<sup>8</sup> *Idem* (Acte I, Scène XIV): Sarterre: ". . . Je n'ai gardé que mon âme d'artiste! . . . (jusqu'à:). . . innocent comme une panthère!" *Idem* (Acte I, Scène XVIII): ". . . Et si je n'ai plus de sentiments humains? . . . (jusqu'à:). . . Une vie plus vaste! Celle de la nature."

aussi involontaire que les nuages et l'eau. Je suis ce que je suis." <sup>9</sup>

Devant la poussée de cette énorme force, le point de vue change. Est-ce parce que Sarterre est un être d'exception parmi les créatures anodines que nous sommes devenues? Il ne peut être question d'indignation devant les débauches même viles de Sarterre. Peut-être même pas devant le mal qu'il fait à Vera. Toutes ces créatures tombent sous la loi du désir. Sarterre est réellement innocent comme une panthère. Un désir plus profond que le désir demeure en lui inapaisé, comme la loi qui attire les unes vers les autres les vapeurs, les eaux et les terres et les étoiles du ciel. "Il n'y a que le désir, un désir éternel de s'approcher, de s'étreindre et de se détruire." <sup>10</sup>

"Je créais sans savoir, dit-il à sa femme. Depuis que je sais je ne crée plus: je me regarde et j'ai honte; je suis devenu double. . . . Il y a maintenant entre la nature et moi, un miroir où je m'apparais, avec mes doutes, mes remords, mes craintes. . . . Tu me reprochais de vivre dans la débauche? Je sais maintenant qu'une tendresse immense fécondait chacune de mes étreintes. . . . je crevais d'amour pour la vie! Je faisais le mal? Oui, comme tout ce qui vit, mais sans le vouloir, pour colorer mes rêves." <sup>11</sup>

Voilà le drame de l'art. Il se nourrit de vie. L'artiste s'il est travaillé par l'inquiétude arrivera-t-il à la plénitude de son art? Doit-il s'arrêter aux sentiments de ceux qui l'aiment et ne point suivre les impulsions de sa nature profonde? Trouvera-t-il l'absolu s'il hésite? Peut-être est-il vrai que "Beaucoup de créateurs sont des assassins, qu'on ne peut pas créer sans détruire et que c'est avec la mort qu'on fait de la vie." Tel ce peintre dont parle Poe et qui fit de sa jeune épouse un portrait de beauté frappante. Mais il ne voyait pas que la gaieté et la

<sup>9</sup> *Idem* (Acte I, Scène XVIII).

<sup>10</sup> *Idem* (Acte II, Scène V).—Cf. dans *L'Homme et ses Fantômes* le personnage de *l'Homme*. Comme Sarterre il est envahi par un désir inapaisé. L'amour, les souffrances des femmes dont il s'est fait aimer et qu'il est incapable d'aimer, ne peuvent assouvir son âme ni même la toucher,—Don Juan à la poursuite d'un fantôme décevant. Mais tandis que Sarterre retrouve dans l'amour physique l'apaisement propre à son art, les notes essentielles d'une musique sauvagement humaine, *l'Homme* est mû par un instinct sexuel pervers qu'il ignore et qui demeurera à jamais insatisfait.

<sup>11</sup> *Idem* (Acte III, Scène V).

santé, la beauté et la vie de la jeune femme disparaissaient au fur et à mesure qu'il les transposait sur la toile. Or quand il donna aux yeux et aux lèvres les dernières touches, elle mourut.<sup>12</sup>

### À l'Ombre du Mal

C'est une des pièces les plus émouvantes de M. Lenormand et qui nous laisse réduits à l'impuissance devant la force incensamment multipliée du mal.

Qu'est-ce que cette force du mal? C'est celle qui a tenté *Préfailles*, administrateur de colonie, quand il imposa autrefois durant deux ans une longue torture à un jeune agent commercial *Rougé*, sans raison valable, si ce n'est parce qu'il n'aurait pas dû. Mais *Rougé* n'était pas un faible, il n'a pas été vaincu parce qu'il s'est mis du côté de l'esprit du mal. Dès cette époque son sens du juste et de l'injuste a été faussé; il est devenu fonctionnaire à son tour, dur, indifférent, immunisé contre cette faiblesse qui s'appelle la pitié;<sup>13</sup> jusqu'au jour où lui vient cette grande tentation: Pourquoi être toujours plus ou moins lié aux lois de la justice? Si un jour on appelait justice l'injustice, et la bonté faiblesse? C'est dans les yeux innocents et assurés de *Maélik*, le chef nègre qui le premier a accepté la justice des blancs que *Rougé* trouve la tentation. C'est parce qu'il trouve une telle assurance dans le regard du chef sauvage qu'il va faire régner l'iniquité. Comme le héros de Poe qui éborgna son chat, bête inoffensive, et le perdit de sang-froid sans autre motif que pour violer la Loi.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, *The Oval Portrait*.

<sup>13</sup> Par perversité il faut entendre cet instinct étrange qui nous pousse en dépit de notre raison à des actes absurdes, nuisibles ou dangereux, sans autre motif que: 'Cela ne se doit pas.' Cette méchanceté gratuite, et cette rébellion secrète qui, au milieu des joies du paradis, fit écouter à la première femme les suggestions du serpent, conseils perfides que l'humanité a trop bien retenus.—*Théophile Gautier*.

<sup>14</sup> *À l'Ombre du Mal* (Acte III, Scène VI): *Rougé*: "Ce ne fut pas précisément de la vengeance . . . (jusqu'à:). . . J'y ai trouvé les délices les plus sombres, les seuls délices de mon existence."

<sup>15</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, *The Black Cat*: "I took from my waistcoat pocket a pen-knife, opened it, grasped the poor beast by the throat, and deliberately cut one of its eyes from the socket. . . . And then came, as if to my final and irrevocable overthrow, the spirit of *Perverseness*. Of this spirit philosophy takes no account. Yet I am not more sure that my soul lives than I am that perverseness is one of the primitive impulses of the human heart—one of the indivisible primary faculties, or



Ainsi quoiqu'il sache parfaitement que Maélik a juré la vérité et que *l'Alamy* est un fourbe, Rougé fait mettre aux fers, puis fustiger sous le soleil brûlant le chef Maélik qui avait mis sa confiance en la justice des blancs. C'est la vue de l'administrateur Préfaïlles, qui autrefois le persécuta, l'épuisement, la chaleur torride, qui ont donné un renouveau au mal toujours vivant en lui. Mais à son tour Rougé fausse chez le chef noir le sens de justice nouvellement né dans son âme primitive et identifié avec la justice des blancs. Maintenant Maélik connaît la loi du mal et qu'il lui faut des victimes innocentes. Alors il fait tuer *Madame Le Cormier*, qui avait encore la foi à la mission colonisatrice, elle dont la bonté attirait les noirs et qui était partie chez Maélik pour apaiser avec des baumes ses souffrances cuisantes. "Elle a aimé, elle a eu pitié, dit Rougé, même de moi. . . . Justice est faite." <sup>15</sup>

"Mais cela n'existe pas, la justice . . . avait dit Rougé à Préfaïlles. C'est une idée d'homme, une petite idée d'homme. Ce n'est pas une réalité. . . . Voyez au contraire, combien vivante et inextinguible est l'injustice! Quel ressort, quel rebondissement elle a! . . . Voyez quelle lourde et longue chaîne de maux a pu forger un seul acte injuste, le vôtre! Parce que cette tentation du mal vous a visité jadis, il a fallu que je subisse deux ans de tortures et qu'à mon tour, j'en inflige de pareilles à d'autres hommes, dont vous ne soupçonnez pas l'existence. . . . Songez qu'aujourd'hui encore, après quinze ans écoulés, il a fallu qu'un nouvel anneau fût ajouté à cette chaîne et que Maélik fût supplicié, à cause de vous! . . . Tous ceux qu'au cours de ma vie j'ai traités injustement. . . . Qui sait, si à leur tour, ils ne se sont pas vengés sur d'autres? Et ces autres, sur d'autres encore? . . . Allez, une fois la source d'injustice libérée parmi les hommes, nul ne peut savoir jusqu'où elle est capable de couler. . . . Nul, surtout, ne peut prétendre l'assécher!" (Acte III, Scène VI).

Préfaïlles mis en présence des conséquences de son action sentiments, which give direction to the character of Man. Who has not, a hundred times, found himself committing a vile or stupid action, for no other reason than because he knows he should *not*? Have we not a perpetual inclination, in the teeth of our best judgment, to violate that which is *Law*, merely because we understand it to be such?

<sup>15</sup> À *l'Ombre du Mal* (Acte III, Scène IX): Rougé: "Il y a un détail que vous ignorez . . . (jusqu'à:). . . . S'il avait deviné . . . la loi? . . . S'il savait qu'il faut des innocents?"

perversé d'autrefois, est angoissé, il y voit la perversité de l'esprit par le milieu bestial. La contamination de l'intelligence par les vices des noirs.<sup>16</sup> Mais Rougé, lucide, intellectuel, s'incline devant la puissance indépendante du mal: "Cette volonté du mal et de l'injustice, que vous considérez comme une perversion, elle est normale. Elle est la loi de l'homme et peut-être de l'univers. . . . C'est le désir de la justice, qui est exceptionnel et monstrueux."<sup>17</sup>

Il est tragiquement curieux et intéressant que cette force du mal puisse d'autre part être délivrée par un sentiment noble, une action bonne, tant il est vrai qu'a été arbitraire au début l'établissement des lois dites de justice et d'injustice. Rougé oblige Mme Le Cormier à se rendre compte qu'elle tue sa mère, l'ayant quittée pour suivre son mari: ". . . aucun être, même le plus pur, même le plus aimant, ne peut éviter de commettre l'injustice, dit-il. Il n'y a pas de justice absolue. Nous appelons justice notre passion la plus forte."<sup>18</sup>

La théorie du mal exposée dans cette pièce n'est pas en contradiction avec celle exposée dans *Une Vie secrète*. Elle

<sup>16</sup> *Idem* (Acte III, Scène VI): *Préfaïlles*: ". . . Cette coulée de jours vides nécessairement pareils, . . . (jusqu'à:). . . Et qui sait même si ce n'est pas l'âme noire qui nous souffle ses obsessions?"

<sup>17</sup> *Idem* (Acte III, Scène VII).—Cf. le passage de Poe dans *The Imp of the Perversé*: "With certain minds, under certain conditions, it (the spirit of perverseness) becomes absolutely irresistible. I am not more certain that I breathe, than that the assurance of the wrong or error of any action is often the one unconquerable force which impels us, and alone impels us to its prosecution. Nor will this overwhelming tendency to do wrong for the wrong's sake admit of analysis, or resolution into ulterior elements. It is a radical, a primitive impulse—elementary."

—Ces rapprochements que nous faisons entre M. Lenormand et Poe ne veulent point indiquer que M. Lenormand a copié l'idée de l'Américain, mais plutôt qu'ils ont eu du mal une conception assez similaire, partagée d'ailleurs par Théophile Gautier, Villiers de l'Isle Adam (dans *Tribulat Bonhommet*, *Contes Cruels*), François de Curel (dans ses pièces, surtout *La Fille Sauvage*, *le Coup d'Aile*), et bien d'autres hommes. Que M. Lenormand connaisse Poe c'est d'ailleurs indéniable. Je n'en veux pour preuve que ce passage de l'Avant-propos qu'il a écrit au livre de M. Daniel-Rops *Sur le théâtre de M. Lenormand*: ". . . ; le Vecht, ce chemin d'eau de la province d'Utrecht sur les bords duquel se dresse, entr'aperçue à travers le brouillard, mainte Maison Usher où végète encore, dans un rêve maladif, quelque descendant dégénéré des patriciens du dix-huitième siècle."

<sup>18</sup> *Idem* (Acte III, Scène I).—Cf. les paroles de Rougé à Préfaïlles (Acte III, Scène VI): "Ne disiez-vous pas que la cause réelle de la mort de ce porteur à qui vous avez brûlé la cervelle, c'était la tendresse, la fidèle affection avec lesquelles votre femme pense à vous."

emprunte seulement une forme plus intellectuelle. Les créatures primitives sont les instruments aveugles de la puissance du mal; les civilisés d'une intelligence froide en deviennent les instruments conscients. Et voici un problème qui se pose: une intelligence lucide pourrait jusqu'à un certain point arrêter le cours du mal. Avec quelle angoisse Rougé a-t-il dû se pencher sur le corps sans tête de Mme Le Cormier? On ne peut concevoir qu'il fût resté le même ensuite. Mais des primitifs, des impulsifs? Rougé avait raison: on ne peut assécher le torrent. Maélik connaît maintenant la loi du mal et il retourne avec vengeance à son état primitif, plus brute et instrument semi-conscient du mal.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Le Simoun*

Dans *le Simoun* la puissance du mal s'est incarnée dans Aïescha, la métisse, "une sang-mêlée, une violente, une déséquilibrée . . . il y a en elle comme du feu . . . une force sauvage qui ne s'apaise jamais. . . ." Pourquoi *Laurency* ne peut-il pas se détacher d'elle? "Parce qu'il y a dans l'âme de cette femme des régions qui lui seront toujours fermées. Il ne la comprendra jamais tout à fait." Car elle est rusée comme une bête et pourtant facile à surprendre.

On se souvient du simple drame: déprimé par un long séjour aux colonies, affaibli moralement par une lutte qui nous est révélée plus tard (étouffer la passion qu'il avait pour sa femme coupable), affaibli aussi par son contact journalier avec Aïescha, *Laurency* durant l'été torride et quand souffle le simoun, fait venir de France sa fille *Clotilde*; elle a dix-huit ans et ressemble étrangement à sa mère morte. *Laurency* éprouve pour elle une passion qu'il n'analyse pas tout d'abord mais qui lui est révélée par l'indignation qu'il éprouve quand un chef arabe vient la lui demander pour son fils. Aïescha a tout de suite flairé cet amour, non par jalousie mais par une vieille habitude de domination. L'instinct du mal en elle veut pousser la jeune fille dans les bras de son père pour les détruire tous les

<sup>19</sup> On ne peut s'empêcher de penser à *Marie, la Fille Sauvage*, de M. de Curel. Elle a connu la loi des blancs, mais un blanc ayant rejeté son amour elle revient reine dans son pays. Autrefois elle était sauvage et bestiale, mais 'innocente comme une panthère.' La loi du bien chez les blancs, que lui a-t-elle appris?: à discerner en elle la brute, à dissocier sa personne.

deux; pour supprimer aussi Clotilde qu'aime Giaour, le fils de l'Agha, car elle aime le jeune arabe d'une passion animale et violente. Enfin elle tue la jeune fille, sans remords. La force aveugle qu'Aïescha porte en elle ne peut connaître ni hésitations, ni craintes.

Des personnages comme celui d'Aïescha ne fourniraient point le drame, mais ils représentent la puissance qui décide tandis que se débattent des personnages plus compliqués dans la lutte de leurs instincts primordiaux et leurs instincts acquis. Aïescha tue Clotilde et finit pour Laurency d'une façon simple sa longue lutte angoissée. Et lui à qui un instinct aurait défendu un tel crime, mais chez qui un instinct bien plus ancien poussait irrésistiblement vers un autre crime, lui, le père, le civilisé, bénit inconsciemment l'esprit fort du mal. Il contemple le jeune cadavre et son expression "réflète une espèce de soulagement, la détente physique de la bête poursuivie qui se sent hors d'atteinte."

#### *Le Mangeur de Rêves*

Luc de Bronte, psychologue, tâche de guérir des cas de névroses. Pour cela il recherche le crime caché, les instincts vils ou coupables, dont le souvenir inconscient pèse sur l'individu. Mais en ce faisant, il risque deux choses: ou de tuer l'individu conscient, ou d'ouvrir la bonde aux puissances du mal. Ainsi on se demande combien l'action du psychologue est bienfaisante et en quelle mesure le pouvoir de suggestion peut développer ou créer le mal que des générations de contrôle avaient enseveli.<sup>20</sup>

Il est certain que Luc de Bronte trouve une grande satisfaction à ce qu'il appelle sa mission. Ayant tué en lui l'émotion, il ne retrouve d'excitation cérébrale que dans les cas qu'il examine, à la poursuite de la cause initiale de la névrose.<sup>21</sup>

Une jeune femme *Jeannine* est travaillée par le lourd remords d'un crime inconscient. Toute petite elle a passionnément aimé son père et a livré sa mère à des bandits arabes par jalousie infantine. Mais la délivrance ne lui vient pas avec la connaissance de son crime. Elle se tue à l'endroit où fut prise sa

<sup>20</sup> Scène IX: Fearon dit à Luc: "Tu es faible comme un adolescent, mais tu as le pouvoir . . . (jusqu'à:) . . . par les mauvais génies que tu as délivrés."

<sup>21</sup> Scène IX: Fearon à Luc: "Tu ne cherches pas la vérité; . . . (jusqu'à:) . . . puisque la vie des sens ne suffit plus à ta joie."

mère. En elle la force combative ou vertueuse c.-à.-d. le contrôle des instincts, les remords, sont beaucoup plus forts que l'instinct pervers.<sup>22</sup>

Cet instinct pervers dans sa force ouverte, cynique, et qu'il est convenu d'appeler vicieuse, c'est *Fearon* la jeune Anglaise qui le représente. Chez elle Luc de Bronte a donné l'essor à une criminalité latente à laquelle Fearon s'abandonne non sans esprit et brio. De mœurs libres, voleuse, criminelle politique, elle trouve dans ses aventures l'excitation de sa vie. Mais cette excitation pour se maintenir doit s'accroître, trouver du terrain nouveau. Dans l'absence de tout contrôle des instincts pervers, elle obtient le sel de la vie; d'une façon d'ailleurs bien organisée, car son plus grand plaisir est de voler un voleur. Sa jouissance est donc en partie cérébrale. Où elle devient vraiment puissante et dangereuse c'est quand elle s'aperçoit que l'esprit du mal agit plus efficacement par le moyen d'une intelligence lucide que par le moyen des kleptomanes et des aventurières.

"Sais-tu ce qui m'amuse le plus dans la vie? dit-elle à Luc de Bronte, . . . Séduire, corrompre une conscience pure. Toi aussi, tu aimes ça. . . . L'action me semble parfois si grossière, si fade, à côté de certain travail moral. Tu m'as dit un jour que je ne trouverai l'apaisement que dans la destruction. Eh bien, voler, ce n'est pas détruire; c'est changer les choses de place. On ne détruit vraiment que par la pensée" (Scène II).

### *La Dent rouge*

Il ne faut pas toujours l'intervention du psychologue pour délivrer les puissances du mal. Nous commençons à peine à entrevoir les forces émanées de nous dans les moments de forte tension psychique, désir, colère, amertume.

*Claire*, âme assez cultivée, se heurte à des âmes primitives et superstitieuses de montagnards. Elle a voulu éduquer son mari et n'en a fait qu'un inquiet, qui, repris par son milieu, considère la passion qu'il a pour elle comme œuvre de sorcellerie. Un jour que son mari l'a battue par crainte d'elle, tremblante d'amertume elle a souhaité la perte de celui qu'elle aimait;

<sup>22</sup> Scène IX: Fearon à Luc (en parlant de Jeannine): "Tu croyais la guérir en l'éclairant, . . . (jusqu'à:) pleins de scrupules et de cruauté, de sagesse et d'incohérence, de logique et de folie."

elle l'a vu glisser sur le flanc de la montagne à qui elle l'a rendu. Elle ne voit que ce qui arrive bientôt. Devant le corps de son mari, elle entrevoit la puissance de cette force du mal: "C'est du malheur que sort la méchanceté, dit-elle au curé qui la sauve de la colère des villageois, et on ne peut éviter ni le malheur ni la méchanceté" (Acte IV, Scène II).

"Pierre est mort, dit-elle encore, et je sais bien ce qui l'a tué . . . je suis peut-être plus coupable encore que je ne l'avoue. Car j'ai voulu sa perte: et qui sait ce que peut le désir? Dites, monsieur le curé, si je lui ai communiqué cette vision? En dévalant follement, sans corde, sur la pente de glace, il m'obéissait! Il courait à la mort que j'ai rêvée pour lui! Ils disent la vérité: j'ai tué mon mari!" (Acte IV, Scène IX).

\* \* \*

Nous nous rendons compte d'après les quelques pièces étudiées, que M. Lenormand a peint surtout des êtres d'exceptions, des névrosés, ou des hommes placés dans des circonstances exceptionnelles. Plusieurs ont voulu voir là un défaut d'art car ils croient, avec Barbey d'Aurevilly, que "l'art consiste à manifester la beauté simple, primitive, naturelle," et que "la peinture exclusive de l'exception est une marque d'infériorité."

Cela peut être un défaut d'art si nous jugeons d'après certaines règles dites classiques, les règles de la raison, de la quiétude ou de la sagesse. Mais tout n'est pas raison, sagesse ou quiétude dans la vie. "Tout ce qui paraît actuellement en littérature, écrit M. Lenormand, étudie l'homme dans les manifestations de sa conscience claire. Il me paraît que cette époque est anxieuse d'autre chose. Il y a en nous, en certains d'entre nous du moins l'exigence intime, inavouée, d'un déplacement du point de vue, d'un changement de plan."<sup>23</sup>

Il y a une grande partie de nous-mêmes que ne connaissent pas les autres et que nous commençons à connaître; il y a en nous des moments plus sombres ou plus intimes, plus vivants, plus révoltés. Ce sont les exceptions de notre vie. Mais que manifestent ces exceptions, si ce n'est l'existence d'une autre vie plus bouillonnante. Ainsi l'artiste, pour nous, "veut serrer de plus près la réalité fuyante et ondoyante du fait de conscience," "rendre sensible l'indécision du rêve humain en

<sup>23</sup> Cité par Pierre Brisson dans *Le Temps*.



gestation . . . surprendre son déguisement hypocrite, marquer d'un trait soudain sa pulsation secrète."<sup>24</sup>

" Il libère en nous des moments où nous avons été sur le point de devenir des anomalies, des monstres; il libère nos démons. Et si nous sentons son émotion, nous revenons sur nous-mêmes, car elle n'est que l'angoisse et la pitié du possible."<sup>25</sup>

Ainsi M. Lenormand cherche à rétablir l'équilibre à notre époque en exprimant nos inquiétudes refoulées "nos ardeurs et nos curiosités entravées." Et parce qu'il a su nous émouvoir sur nous-mêmes et nous exprimer à nous-mêmes il devient un nouveau classique.<sup>26</sup> Car une œuvre est classique quand elle exprime parfaitement son époque.

Il n'est pas seul. Depuis les pères de l'Eglise, et à notre époque depuis que Poe l'a envisagé nettement, l'Esprit du Mal a marqué la littérature de sa présence et on se demande combien M. Lenormand doit à Villiers, à Gide et à M. de Curel.

Cette question des influences est très délicate et probablement impossible à délimiter, et nous ne cherchons pas à le faire, mais à placer M. Lenormand dans la série de ces esprits innovateurs ou représentatifs d'une force nouvelle dans la littérature. Il est certain qu'on ne peut plus de nos jours s'essayer à l'étude des âmes sans tenir compte de Dostoïewski, de Gide ou de Proust. Cet instinct du mal poursuivant sa propre fin, tout puissant dans son domaine et indépendant, nous le retrouvons dans bien des écrivains modernes: Mauriac (surtout dans sa dernière œuvre: *Thérèse Desqueyroux*), Pierre Benoît (dans: *Mademoiselle de la Ferté*), Duhamel (dans les livres sur *Salavin*), et la splendide épopée *Sous le Soleil de Satan* de Bernanos.

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<sup>24</sup> M. Lenormand dans *Le Gaulois* (3 juillet 1920).

<sup>25</sup> M. Lenormand dans *Le Gaulois* (*idem*).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Daniel-Rops, *Notre Inquiétude*, p. 57. Que seront les classiques nouveaux?: "Que si les âmes sont inquiètes, ils les peignent dans l'inquiétude. Que si les temps sont à l'anarchie, ils fassent le tableau de l'anarchie."

## MISCELLANEOUS

### SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE IN THE WORKS OF LOPE DE VEGA

SLAVERY was a recognized institution in the Spain of Lope de Vega, and slaves were widely kept. This practice was due, in part, to the close contact with the Mohammedan peoples, whose piracies were directed mainly toward the acquisition of captives for enslavement and ransom. Historically, this was also the case in other countries bordering on the Mediterranean. In the eighth century, a market for Mohammedan slaves was established at Rome, and the Roman example was followed in the next century by Provence, Catalonia, and various Italian cities. Although slavery played an important rôle in Spanish life in the time of Lope de Vega, we know very little about it. The object of the present paper is to examine Lope's treatment of the slave, in order to gain some knowledge of slavery as it existed in his day, and also to get an insight into Lope's artistic manner when he is dealing with this subject.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose, those plays<sup>2</sup> which contain characters merely masquerading as slaves, will not be set apart from the others, since the information they give us is confirmed elsewhere. Additional information will be adduced from other sources, for comparison and corroboration.

The legal point of view regarding slavery in Spain may be found in *Las siete partidas*:<sup>3</sup> a captive, if an enemy of the Faith, could be enslaved. Accordingly, slaves were often sold in Lope's day with the qualification that they had been captured *en buena guerra*, this qualification being a salve for the conscience

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. O. Reed, "Spanish Usages and Customs in the Seventeenth Century as Noted in the Works of Lope de Vega," *Philological Quarterly*, April, 1922, containing material on slavery and other aspects of the life of the time.

<sup>2</sup> *Los melindres de Belisa*; *Virtud, pobreza, y mujer*; *La esclava de su galán*. References are to works in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, unless otherwise specified. The New Edition of the Academy has not been accessible to me.

<sup>3</sup> *Ley I, tit. XXI, P. IV.*

of the Christian purchaser. Illustration of this point of view is common in Lope. Thus, *cautivo* is often synonymous with *esclavo*.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the captured Moors of *Los Tellos de Meneses* (II), III, v, are all enslaved. Finally, in *Melindres*,<sup>5</sup> III, i, Eliso is remonstrating against Lisarda's cruel treatment of a slave, and says:

"¿En qué guerra le ganaste,  
Lisarda, que le trataste  
como a bárbaro despojo?"

We remember the stories of Christian slaves languishing in Moorish hands, but there was another side to the picture. This is apparent, for example, in *El arenal de Sevilla*, I, vi-viii, where Moorish slaves from Spanish galleys appear, performing shore duty in chains. We may assume that this was a common sight on the Seville waterfront, as the play opens with a series of realistic and typical dramatic scenes. That there was considerable odium attached to the traffic in negro slaves, undoubtedly because they could hardly be considered captives of just warfare, may be gathered from the indignation of the captain in *Esclava*, II, iii, who is horrified at the idea that he would deal in black slaves. Since he is offering a white slave for sale at the time, the distinction seems rather specious. However, it illustrates the point of view of the day. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, generally regarded at that time as an extremist, argued, nevertheless, along accepted lines in his fiery indictment of the practice of enslaving Indians. He maintained that none of the Indian wars had been just, and consequently, that no captive of any of these wars should have been enslaved.<sup>6</sup> The same argument is used unanswerably by Bartolomé de Albornoz, in his condemnation of the enslavement of negroes.<sup>7</sup>

It is apparent from contemporary evidence that slaves were more numerous than one might be led to believe from Lope's plays. According to Manuel Chaves,<sup>8</sup> there was scarcely a family in Seville of more than average means that did not

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *El molino*, III, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Works already mentioned are quoted hereafter in abbreviated form.

<sup>6</sup> *B.A.E.*, LXV, p. 208.

<sup>7</sup> *B.A.E.*, LXV, p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> *Cosas nuevas y viejas*, Seville, 1904.

possess two or more. Lope, however, introduces slaves as such only for the development of the plot, or for comic relief. Even so, he gives us proof of the important rôle that they played at that time. For example, in *Melindres*, I, i, a wealthy widow decides, after marrying off her children, to retire to the country with a female slave and an *escudero* as her sole companions. Likewise, in *La Dorotea*, III, iv, the most important evidence of Dorotea's newly found prosperity is the presence in the house of two slaves. According to the novel, *La más prudente venganza*, the whole corps of servants in one family are slaves. Further, the widow of *Quien ama no haga fieros*, III, ix, desires to marry, as she is afraid to stay home at night with none but slaves to guard her. Lastly, in *El castigo del discreto*,<sup>9</sup> out of five servants mentioned, one, the scrubwoman, is a slave, and the name of the cook, Elvirilla, would indicate that she is a slave also.

Most of the slaves mentioned are Moors. One is the son of a Moorish girl captured by Don John of Austria in the Moorish rebellion. Several are children born in slavery. One comes from Biafra, and another from as far away as Malacca. The black slaves come from Guinea, the historic Slave-coast. According to *Esclava*, II, iii, it would seem that merchants, soldiers, and sea captains brought slaves to Spain as a speculation. One method of selling them may be seen in *Virtud*, II, xvi, where the master, a slave, and an auctioneer go about the streets, while the auctioneer offers the slave for sale.<sup>10</sup> According to Cervantes' *El trato de Argel*,<sup>11</sup> Christian slaves were sold in this manner in Morocco.

Slaves were sometimes branded with an *S* and a line (*clavo*), stenographic for *esclavo*. According to Fray Pedro de Vega,<sup>12</sup> the *S* and *clavo* on one cheek and the owner's initials or mark on the other, were the badge of the slave. Yet, it is clear from Lope's plays that slaves were not necessarily branded. Contributory evidence may be found in Cervantes' *El celoso*

<sup>9</sup> Fichter, Instituto de las Españas, N. Y., 1925, pp. 172-3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *El esclavo de Roma*, Acad., VI, p. 469.

<sup>11</sup> *Com. y Entr.*, V, p. 38, in Schevill and Bonilla, *Obras Completas*, Rodríguez, Madrid.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted with other references in Note to Cervantes' *El rufián viudo*, *op. cit.*

*extremeño*, where four unbranded slaves are purchased. We may take it for granted, in the case of free persons disguised as slaves in the plays, that they assume fictitious brands in order to make their change of state more convincing. Furthermore, branding is specifically mentioned<sup>13</sup> as a punishment for the refractory, and as a deterrent for runaways. The practice is called cruel in one instance, and is decried in another, because of the difficulty in selling a branded slave.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that persons who had a lively sense of caution, branded their slaves as a kind of insurance. Thus, the branding of the slaves by Carrizales in Cervantes' *Celoso extremeño*, may be considered significant of his character and plans. Lope also informs us that the brands, where they occur, were not uniform either in shape or situation. We find, for example, slaves branded on the chin.<sup>15</sup> Only the *clavo* is mentioned in these cases, the *S* being omitted. Lope never mentions or indicates the owner's initials or mark. This variation of brands is corroborated by Las Casas.<sup>16</sup> He tells us that, in default of the standard brand, the slavers used their initials, or made an indeterminate mark with the handiest piece of iron. He also declares that on at least one occasion, after the arrival of a royal order prohibiting the branding or enslavement of Indians, the governor branded a group awaiting shipment with a mark indicating that they were exiles.

Many of the slaves are industrious, skilled, and intelligent. They are closely bound to their masters, and have their full confidence.<sup>17</sup> An interesting development in two of the plays is that of a father who threatens a disobedient son, declaring that he will adopt a slave and leave him all his wealth.<sup>18</sup> This may be a manifestation of classical influence. The slaves are employed in the kitchen, laundryroom, and stable. They serve visitors and wait on table. An especially desirable qualification in a slave is the ability to sing, play, and dance, as music and

<sup>13</sup> *Melindres*, II, vii, xxiv; *Esclavo*, Acad., VI, pp. 472-3.

<sup>14</sup> *Melindres*, II, ix, vii.

<sup>15</sup> *Esclava*, II, iv; *Esclavo*, Acad., VI, pp. 472-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 210-212.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Servir a señor discreto*.

<sup>18</sup> *La niña de plata*, III, viii; *Esclava*, II, iv.

dancing were very popular. The supreme accomplishment of the slave, however, is the ability to make fruit preserves and jellies. This skill is possessed by practically every slave. For example, those promised by don Bela to Dorotea, in the enthusiasm of early courtship, are to be *conserveras y laboreras*.<sup>19</sup> In *Esclava*, II, iv, this accomplishment is properly placed in the climax of a representative description of a paragon of slaves.

The attitude of the slaveholder toward the religious ideas of his slaves is interesting, in view of the period in which Lope lived. It would appear that there was no intolerance in this regard: we find non-Christian slaves. Of course, there were people who would not allow a heathen in their homes under any circumstances.<sup>20</sup> The prospective purchaser regularly asks the slave if he is a Christian, and the slave answers that he is, or that he wishes to be. Apparently his lot would be easier if he were. Likewise, a Christian slave would be more tractable and scrupulous, all other things being equal. It is interesting to note that in one instance, too ready an acceptance of Christianity is regarded with suspicion.<sup>21</sup>

The prices at which the slaves are sold do not offer us much light on the subject, since the price is never mentioned unless the slave is white and exceptionally talented. Sometimes, a sentimental factor enters. However, in *Virtud*, II, xvi, the dealer asks six hundred ducats, a price which is said by a merchant present to be higher than any ever before paid. This merchant offers four hundred, and the reader infers that even this price is extremely high. The five hundred ducats paid for the slave in *Esclava*, II, iv, is said to be very high also, though in this case and in *Melindres*, I, xiv, where two slaves are valued at two thousand ducats, sentiment is again the ruling factor.

It was the custom to punish slaves by whipping them,<sup>22</sup> and in the case of the more serious offences, by applying the form of punishment indicated by the verb *pringar*. This was

<sup>19</sup> *Dorotea*, I, i.

<sup>20</sup> *San Diego de Alcalá*, p. 524.

<sup>21</sup> *Porfiar hasta morir*, II, vii.

<sup>22</sup> *Quien ama*, II, xiv.



the dropping of pork fat, melted by a large taper, upon the naked skin. Cervantes gives us another word for this punishment, *lardear*, and indicates that it was a regular punishment of the fugitive slave.<sup>23</sup> That pork was not always used, the wax of the taper serving the purpose, is clear from *Servir a señor*, II, xii. We learn also that this punishment was not for slaves alone, since it was a ready method for extorting information.<sup>24</sup> Branding as a punishment has already been discussed. The more refractory slaves were compelled to wear an iron collar around their necks, sometimes with an iron bar attached to it.<sup>25</sup> This was a sort of movable pillory which the slave carried about at his tasks and even in the street.<sup>26</sup> In *Prudente venganza*, we find that a slave, who had been killed after murdering his master, was regularly dragged about the streets by the mob and buried outside the town limits under a pile of stones.

The slaveholder could, of course, free his slaves whenever he pleased. In *Porfiar*, II, vii, the mistress writes out the freedom of a slave and gives it to her without ceremony. Many slaveholders undoubtedly included in their wills a provision for the enfranchisement of their slaves. There was ample Biblical authority for this practice. Lope tells us in *Virtud*, II, xii, that this was a regular custom in Spain. We can easily find evidence that corroborates this statement. Thus, the hero of Cervantes' *Celoso extremeño* frees his slaves at his death. Moreover, Quevedo, in describing a typical will, includes humorously a provision for the freedom of slaves.<sup>27</sup> Further evidence may be found in the will of Hurtado de Mendoza, in which he freed all his slaves, male and female, and left a sum of money to each.<sup>28</sup>

The strong national and religious prejudice which existed against the Moors, as well as their reputed knowledge of necromancy since the Middle Ages, naturally suggested the use of them in situations where evil, cruel, or treacherous deeds were to be committed. Lope, therefore, appropriately gives

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Nov. Ejemp.*, I, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> *El acero de Madrid*, III, viii, xi.

<sup>25</sup> *Esclava*, I, x; *Melindres*, II, xxii.

<sup>26</sup> *Melindres*, III, xxi.

<sup>27</sup> *B.A.E.*, XXIII, p. 369.

<sup>28</sup> *Memorias de la Real Academia*, Madrid, 1910, Vol. X, p. 240.

us in *Servir con mala estrella*, a Moorish slave who makes various necromantic predictions, concocts a poison, and administers it to her master.<sup>29</sup> Mulatto slaves also were regarded with suspicion. As Lope himself tells us, they were considered to be shrewd, flighty, and unprincipled.<sup>30</sup> They therefore serve fittingly in scenes requiring the betrayal of a mistress. Black slaves do not appear, because they performed the more menial tasks. Moreover, there was no place for them in the happy ending.

In those plays in which the slaves are white, they take the leading rôles. Latin Comedy is concerned in large part with plays of this type, but it does not seem to have influenced Lope. In the Latin plays the situation is regularly as follows: a free-born person has been enslaved, after having been stolen or abducted in childhood. At the end of the play, this person finds his parents and makes a happy marriage. Nothing like this is in Lope. It is true that in the *Persa* of Plautus, some badly needed money is secured by means of the fraudulent sale of a slave. This might conceivably be the inspiration of *Virtud*, in which a free woman, in need of money to ransom her husband, arranges to have a friend sell her into slavery. However, Plautus is describing a picaresque trick, and Lope is giving us an example of devotion. Likewise, in the *Captivi* of Plautus, we find a man who has become unwittingly the slave of his own father. This bears only a superficial resemblance to Lope's *Esclava*. Here, the heroine becomes intentionally the slave of the father of her lover, in order to effect a reconciliation between father and son. These two plays of Lope seem rather to have been inspired by the popular conception of the lover as a slave. He often expands in this way a popular idea or a sententious phrase. To this group belongs *Melindres*, in which a woman who despises the whole male sex, finally falls desperately in love with a slave. She thus becomes, metaphorically, the slave of a slave, and is properly punished for her former attitude.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Prudente venganza*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Los peligros de la ausencia*, II, vii, and Buchanan and Franzen-Swedelius, *Amar sin saber a quien*, III, vii, Holt, with Note.

Practically the entire comic element of the plays which contain a mulatto slave, revolves about wordy disputes between the slave and one or more lackeys. It is apparent that Lope frequently introduces a slave into the action in order to get this comic element. Many of the disputes turn upon the color of the slave, and names such as *tinta*, *hollín*, *picaza*, and *sartén* are common. In this connection, the preference of the negro for the euphemistic adjective *moreno* was the object of satirical touches in Lope's day.<sup>31</sup> Lope does not miss this point.<sup>32</sup> The commonest variation of the quip on the slave's color however, is based on the notion that the color may come off and stain somebody or something. Such jokes go back to the form found in *El mayor imposible*, I, ii:

" . . . es como el negro el necio,  
que aunque le lleven al baño,  
es fuerza volverse negro,"

and ultimately to *Jeremiah*, 13-23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" Cervantes could not resist a little joke on the subject,<sup>33</sup> and even Erasmus is attracted by it in the beginning of his *Moriae Encomium*. It is probable that the phrase, turned in a witty manner, was used in scholastic circles and arguments to indicate anything impossible. Another variant of the joke on color appears when some one is complimenting a female slave on her charms. The stereotyped compliments of the day, based on comparison with the sun, ivory, and flowers, are not in accord with the slave's color. On the other hand, a comparison with night, ebony, or a dark cloud, is just as humorous.<sup>34</sup>

Another frequent pleasantry revolves about the word *perro* as applied to the slaves by the lackeys. This is a very strong word, sometimes used by a character in anger, but it is used regularly in cold blood for all Moors. According to Cervantes' Algerian plays, the Moors used to return this compliment with interest. As many of the slaves are Moors, the lackey makes no distinction and applies it indiscriminately to all. At times

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Cervantes' *Celoso extremeño*, *op. cit.*, *Nov. ejempl.*, II, p. 176.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Servir a señor*, I, xi.

<sup>33</sup> *D. Q.*, I, XXIX.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Servir a señor*, I, xvii.

he only hints at this insult with mock seriousness, and sometimes the slave takes offense when the word is uttered innocently. Besides *perro* and its various augmentatives, we find such allied epithets as *galgo*, *galguidoncella*, and *cuza*. Sometimes the tables are turned, and the slave, in anger, uses the appellation with humorous effect. Lope's favorite witticism in this connection, is to have the lackey pretend he has said *perra* while intending to say *perla*. A variation of this is *perla con dos erres*.

It was the custom of the lower classes to greet a negro on the streets with a certain sound called *estornudo*. Quevedo refers to it, amusingly as always, in his *Boda de negros*.<sup>35</sup> A sly dig at this custom may be found in *Peligros*, I, ii, and *Servir a señor*, II, iii.

The subject of the making of preserves as an accomplishment of the slave, has already been discussed. Its importance was due to the fact that water taken by itself was believed to be harmful.<sup>36</sup> This belief rested mainly on that ancient medical doctrine of balance and equilibrium of the humors, which was in accord with the Greek ideal of the Golden Mean, and in particular, on the parallel doctrine that temperament is governed by various substances such as water, mercury, salt, sulphur, and earth. For over two thousand years, water was doled out in minimum quantities to the feverish. Moreover, the highly unscientific treatises on water with which Lope's contemporaries were familiar, are sufficient to frighten even the modern reader.<sup>37</sup> To this must be added the various beliefs, handed down from antiquity, connected with spontaneous generation. According to one of these beliefs, water breeds frogs, and it is not surprising that some people were squeamish about it. Gerarda of *Dorotea* holds an honorable place in this group, though we have reason to suspect that she was somewhat predisposed to squeamishness beforehand. According to Lope's contemporaries, water was balanced and corrected, so to speak,

<sup>35</sup> B.A.E., LXIX, p. 166.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 174 and Note.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Mexía, *Silva de varia lección*, Seville, 1587, Pt. II, Ch. XXV, XXVI.

by sweets. Ruiz de Alarcón gives us the medical point of view:<sup>38</sup>

"Cuando un humor nocivo predomina,  
para purgarlo, sabes  
que lo disponen antes con jarabes."

By contrast, wine seems to have had an affinity for the salty and the bitter. However, therapeutics had nothing to do with this opinion, since wine was not considered to be a noxious humor. The pros and cons are admirably threshed out in *Dorotea*, II, vi. The favorite preserves, such as orange flower, quince, pear, cherry, peach, sugar syrup, and jelly, were used as a light lunch and dessert, and were kept on hand to offer to visitors, together with iced water. In Lope, the customary offer of a cooling drink is always accompanied by the inevitable *caja*.<sup>39</sup> They correspond to the tea and cake of our day. Needless to say, sweets were not any more popular in certain circles in those days than they are now. The lackey regularly glories in the fact that he is *peuple*, and he also has many of the characteristics of the swaggerer. Moreover, the effeminate were regularly described in the language of the time as being *de alfeñique* and *de alcorza*. All this gives rise to amusing situations in which the slave offers some jam to the lackey, who refused sweets as unworthy of his sex. He may tell her to give it to his master, who needs it more, or he may ask for cheese or tripe instead. Another sweet, *grajea*, is often mentioned by the lackey with a wink of the eye, perhaps because of its similarity in sound with *grajo*. The connection is definitely established by Gerarda,<sup>40</sup> who consigns all *grajea* to Guinea.

The slave is so often addressed as *primo* that the reader begins to wonder if it is not a question of personal satire. The answer is furnished by *La portuguesa*, III, iii. Here we find that the frequent use of this mode of address was characteristic of negroes.

From Lope de Rueda to Calderón, a rather frequent device for purposes of comic effect, was the use of Moorish and negro

<sup>38</sup> *Mudarse por mejorarse*, II, xi.

<sup>39</sup> In Calderón's time, the fashionable beverages had changed to a type more like our modern variety. Cf. the *mojiganga*, *Los flatos*.

<sup>40</sup> *Dorotea*, II, vi.

mispronunciation of Spanish. This was a logical development of the pastoral dialect of the *Eglogas*. Quevedo gives a general formula for negro and Moorish dialectic pronunciation, and indicates, ironically enough, that it is for the use of poetic dramatists.<sup>41</sup> Lope uses this device in a few scattered scenes, and notably in *San Diego de Alcalá*. Here we find the most delightful Moor of them all. His contribution to negro dialect is limited to a few scenes in *La madre de la mejor*.<sup>42</sup>

The regular conception of love as slavery gives rise to various flowery speeches and conceits on the subject. The gallant is a captive or a slave, and he asks to be branded. Thus, Fernando's portrait in *Dorotea*, V, iv, is inscribed, *Esclavo de Dorotea*. In this same play there are two instances of metaphorical branding: by a slap on the face, and by tears.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, in the speeches connected with love and its slavery, a frequent play on the words *errar* and *herrar*, and *hierro* and *yerro*, appears. Lope's favorite *glosa* has a place here. The *pie* is as follows:

"Esclavo soy, pero ¿cáyo?  
Eso no lo diré yo;  
que cuyo soy me mandó  
que no diga que soy suyo." <sup>44</sup>

The original of this *pie* is to be found in a popular song of Baltasar del Alcázar.<sup>45</sup>

The Drama, like every other Art, has its limitations. Its realism is, at best, a synthesis of certain aspects of reality. Obviously, Lope does not give us a complete picture of slavery. What he does give us, is the most complete picture that we can find in Spanish Literature. He has something to say about the slave's origin, duties, prices, brands, punishments, and opportunities to obtain freedom. He shows us that, like his contemporaries, he accepted slavery as an institution, without protest. Moreover, the contemporary witticisms, of which the

<sup>41</sup> B.A.E., XXIII, p. 480.

<sup>42</sup> Acad., III.

<sup>43</sup> I, v; I, vi.

<sup>44</sup> Glossed in *Los prados de León*, II, v; *Melindres*, I, xx; *Esclava*, II, v; and *Mayor imposible*, I, ii. In the last play the *glosa* is incomplete.

<sup>45</sup> B.A.E., XXXII, p. 414. According to the appended Note, Lope had illustrious company in his admiration for this song.



slave was the butt, are to be found in his plays. By contrast, both Calderón<sup>46</sup> and Ruiz de Alarcón<sup>47</sup> wrote plays in which we find slaves, but these plays have nothing to offer us in the way of information on slavery. To conclude, whenever the opportunity offers, Lope inevitably turns to those aspects of slavery which have been discussed above. His manner in this respect is so pronounced that it should be of use in establishing whether or not he wrote certain plays, inaccessible to me, which critics have attributed to him with some hesitation.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *El médico de su honra*, *Los hijos de la fortuna*, *La niña de Gómez Arias*.

<sup>47</sup> *La manganilla de Melilla*.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 479.

## BISTICIUS (OR BISTICHIVS) OF FLORENCE

IN the work of John of Arezzo addressed to Lorenzo de Medici on the relative importance of medicine and law, of which I treated in a previous number of this Journal,<sup>1</sup> in a discussion of medical quacks in the city of Florence, reference was made to "Bisticus, a silversmith of Florence, a man ignorant of letters" who "suddenly became the leading physician in the whole city." I have since found other estimates of this Bisticus, or Bistichius, which are more favorable and also some examples of his own medical recipes.

The donation by Bisticus, at his death in 1478, of several manuscripts to the library of the monastery of San Marco in Florence, was mentioned by Mehus in the preface to his *Life of Ambrogio Traversari*.<sup>2</sup> In notes recording the gift which were inscribed in these codices the donor's full name was given as "Magister Laurentius Magistri Iacobi Philippi de Bisticcio," and he was further described as "a famous professor of physic,"<sup>3</sup> a designation presumably more flattering than academically justifiable, although Mehus repeated it without quotation marks in his own text. But at least Bisticus had something of a library. We hear of it again in the following connection.

In a Venetian manuscript of the sixteenth century,<sup>4</sup> contain-

<sup>1</sup> "Medicine versus Law in late Medieval and Medicean Florence," *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. XVII (1926), page 19, note 36.

I wish to take this opportunity to correct the false impression given in this article concerning the Disputation of John Baldus "Whether Medicine is to be preferred to Laws Politic," contained in MS. Gaddi Reliq. 74, fols. 102-105v. On re-examining this manuscript in 1927 I find that the treatise of John Baldus does not end at the point I seemed to indicate on page 29 of the above article, and that consequently he does not conclude the discussion in favor of medicine as is stated on page 14, but goes on to add other conclusions favorable to law. He therefore holds the balance equally between the two subjects.

<sup>2</sup> Laurentius Mehus, *Vita Ambrosii Traversari*, Florence, 1759, prefixed to the edition of Traversari's Letters by Petrus Cannelus: *Praefatio*, p. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, "praeclarus artis physicae professor."

<sup>4</sup> S. Marco, Latin MS., VI, 282 (Valentinelli, XIV, 39). It contains John of Rupecissa's *De Philosophiae famulatu* and *De consideratione quintae essentiae*; also Raimundus, *De arte practica medicinalium*.

ing alchemical and medical treatises, a certain Bartholomew Marcellus, who is said to have copied works of the noted alchemist, John of Rupecissa, furtively in the space of eight days in 1462, "from Bistichius's corroded and smoke-stained codices," praises the latter highly. He states that, following the teaching of a certain Raymond—perhaps the pseudo-Lull, —Bistichius

"since he was a goldsmith (rather than silversmith, as above stated) and experienced in sublimations, . . . became a marvellous doctor beyond the other most learned physicians of this age, so that he seemed no Empiric but the supreme monarch of medicine, and was so courted by all the nobles, lords, and princes of Italy as if he had been the oracle of Apollo and with immense gain for himself, that there seemed to be in him the soul and reason of most holy Hippocrates of yore."<sup>5</sup>

Moreover Bistichius not merely copied alchemical treatises of earlier authors: the same manuscript contains various medical recipes which he wrote with his own hand, and of which the first is against quartan and tertian fever.<sup>6</sup> He was thus at least able to write Latin, however "ignorant of letters" he may have been according to the standards of classical and medical education upheld by the humanists participating in John of Arezzo's dialogue. And he would seem to have been a sort of forerunner of Paracelsus in his close association of chemistry, especially that of metals, with medicines. His recipes, however, are sufficiently superstitious, including the use of the ashes of a burnt live hare for the stone, the prescription of ground glass or burnt human excrement for clouded eyes of beasts, the recital of

<sup>5</sup> The Latin, as given by Valentinelli, *Bibl. MS. ad S. Marci Venet.*, 1868-1874, V, III, runs: "Raimundi doctissimi et sanctissimi divinum de philosophiae famulatu opus explicit, quo duce Bistichius florentinus cum esset aurifex et sublimationes experiretur, quas opus hoc copiosissime docet, mirabilis supra ceteros huius aetatis physicos doctissimos medicus evasit, ut non empericus videretur, sed summus physicorum monarcha: adeoque a nobilibus omnibus et Italiae dominis et principibus, tanquam Apollonis oraculum, suo cum lucro maximo observaretur, ut in eo vetustissimi ac sanctissimi Hippocratis anima ac ratio esse videretur." Later occurs another passage of about the same tenor, of which also Valentinelli reproduces the Latin. But, according to Valentinelli, neither of these remarks made by Bartholomaeus Marcellus in 1462 was included in the printed edition.

<sup>6</sup> MS. S. Marco XIV, 39, fols. 77-82, opening, "Prima medicina per me Bistichium expertissima est contra quartanam et tertianam."

Paternosters and Ave Maria's and the name of Christ in the plucking of medicinal herbs, the writing of other pious phrases on three leaves of salvia which the patient is to eat on an empty stomach, one on each of three days, and other similar insistence upon number, position, and ceremonial procedure. Of one "Marvellous Water" for the eyes Bisticus says, "And believe me that a certain man who had been blind for ten years by using this water for forty days recovered his sight."<sup>7</sup> The recipes of Bisticus were in part, at least, derived from other authors. He cites John of Toledo and Hugh the Cardinal, the book on the virtues of waters which Lord Hugh the Cardinal made, Peter, brother of the abbot of Sancta Justina of Padua, and Joannes de Sancta Brizida.<sup>8</sup>

In conclusion I give the Latin text of three specimens of Bisticus's recipes so far as I have been able to make out the writing of the manuscript.

#### EXAMPLES OF THE MEDICAL RECIPES OF BISTICHIUS

(from S. Marco, Latin MS. VI, 282 (Valentinelli, XIV, 39) fol. 77v. "Prima medicina per me bistichium expertissima est contra quartanam et tertiam. Unde in nomine Iesu christi collige per tres dies tria folia salviae, vel si vis omnia tria simul in una die, cum maxima devotione et fide dicendo pater noster et ave maria, credo et salve regina, et collectis his tribus foliis scribe in primo si licet (scilicet?) + pater est pax, in secundo + filius est vita, in tercio + spiritus sanctus est remedium et sanitas. Tamen ego expertus sum scribere omnia ista in omnibus tribus foliis et esse simul ista alia verba subsequencia que sunt et valent ad idem scilicet + christus natus + christus mortuus + christus resurrexit, et similiter conscribuntur in foliis de salvia et commenduntur in tribus diebus ieiuno stomacho singulum singulo die.")

<sup>7</sup> While we are on the theme of Florentine physicians of the fifteenth century, perhaps it should be noted that Mario Battistini has resuscitated the names of several fourteenth century practitioners from the archives. See his "Note d'archivio," in *Archivio di Storia della Scienza*, II (1921), 211-214, where he treats of Andrea di Bartolo, "un medico del carcere," of Maestro Gregorio da Pisa and Maestro Beltramo da Cortona, both oculists at Florence, of the condemnation and pardon of Maestro Stefano degl' Impiastri in 1341, and of Maestro Cristofano dei Brandaglini at the close of the century. Attention may also be called to the recent book of R. Ciasca, *L'arte dei Medici e speciali nella storia e nel commercio Fiorentino dal secolo XII al XV*, 1927, a work of over 800 pages coming down to 1435.

<sup>8</sup> See fols. 79r, 79v, 80v.

(The following is his chief alchemistical recipe)

"Balsami recepta expertissima in multis et maximis rebus. Recipe terbentine libram unam thuris unciae duo aloes citrini (fol. 78r) uncia una masticis gariofillorum galange cinamomi nucum muscatarum cubearum omnium uncia una gummi ellemi que apretitreos sic vocatur unciae sex aque ardentis distillate quater (?) libram unam. Hec omnia terantur terenda et misceantur insimul et pone in elambico et claude ne aliquo modo respiret et tunc pone in furnello adaptato scilicet distillatorio et facias lento igne distillare. Prima aqua erit clara sicut aqua fontis, secundo (sic) incipiet colorari et spissari et supernabit alteri aque et non miscebuntur. Tercia vero aqua magis densatur et inspissatur sicut mel. Aque proprie balsamus dicitur et apparebit in distillatione sua spissa. Et est eius virtus sicut virtus balsami in omni probatione. Tamen nota quod si volueris facere unguentum pone loco aque vite tantum (de) de unguento laurino et ponantur omnia mixta sub fimo in ampulla bene clausa per octo dies et valet ad frigida quocunque modo sint ventosa et aquosa. Nota quod ista prima aqua ardet sicut aqua ardens, secunda coagulet lac. Et si in una scutella lactis tepidi unam guttam aque predictae tepidam ponas statim coagulat lac. Et sicut virtus balsami stat in fundo cippi et non dissolvitur etiam postquam steterit per unam horam ascendet. Prima aqua que abstrahitur vocatur aqua balsami. Secunda vocatur ebor balsami. Tercia vero balsamus artificiatu nuncupatur. Prima bona, secunda melior, tertia vero optima. Prima ardet et non comburit pannum sed dimittit eum siccum. Secunda ardet et (fol. 78v) comburit pannum. Tercia erit fortior in centuplo et quanto plus reiteratur et distillatur erit fortior in centuplo. Itaque in distillatione comburit ligna et omnia que ponentur in ea." (Bisticus then expatiates for nearly three pages upon its virtues, medicinal and otherwise.) fol. 80v. "Ad frangendum omnem lapidem in vesicca humana et ad proiciendum extra experientia probatissima pro illis qui non possunt urinare propter lapidem. Recipe leporem unum non decoriatum et pone in ola munda et cooperias; deinde pone in furno quousque comburatur multum et fiat pulvis niger et da de isto pulvere patienti modicum in ovo et sanabitur et est expertum. Tamen nota quod ponas leporem vivum cum omnibus suis intestinis in olla predicta et si vis prius disponere patientem fac sic, videlicet coque petrosillum cum oleo deinde torque oleum et pone patienti petrosillum ante et retro: deinde post modicum da sibi de pulvere supradicto leporis combusti et sanabitur statim, et fiat hoc quousque sit sanus.

"Ad sanandum nubes que fiunt in oculis bestiarum tere

fortiter vitrum et cribra bene et pone in oculis bestiarum et infra quinque dies sanabuntur. Ad idem combure de stercore humano fortiter et pone in oculis bestiarum que habent pannos cum uno canone et sanabuntur." (Two recipes for the memory follow.)

## TRANSLATION

"The first medicine, oft tested by me Bisticus, is against tertian and quartan fever. So in the name of Jesus Christ collect on three days three leaves of salvia, or if you wish all three at once on one day, with the greatest devotion and faith repeating a paternoster, Ave Maria, creed and Salve Regina, and after collecting these three leaves write on the first thus, '+ the Father is peace,' on the second, '+ The Son is the life,' on the third, '+ the Holy Spirit is the cure and health.' But I have tried too writing all these on all three leaves, and at the same time those other words which follow and are similarly efficacious, namely, '+ Christ was born, + Christ died, + Christ rose again,' and these are written in the same way on leaves of salvia and are eaten on three days on a fasting stomach one on each day."

"Recipe for a balsam oft tested in many and the greatest emergencies. Take a pound of turpentine, of frankincense two ounces, of aloes lemon one ounce, of mastic gariofil galange cinnamon nux must cubebs one ounce each, of gum elemni<sup>1</sup> called apretitreos six ounces, of ardent water four times distilled one pound. Grind all of them that can be ground, and mix together and put in an alembic and seal it so no vapor can get out and place it in a furnace for the purpose, namely a distillery, and distill it with a slow fire. The first water will be clear as spring water, the next will begin to show color and to thicken and it will float on the other water, and they won't mix. But the third water will be still denser and thick like honey and may fitly be called the balsam of water and will appear thick in its distillation. And in every test its virtue is as the virtue of balsam. But note that in case you wish to make an unguent you should use in place of *aqua vitae* laurel unguent and put the mixture in a well-sealed bottle in a dunghill for eight days, and 'twill be good for colds no matter how windy and watery. Observe that the first water burns like ardent water, the second coagulates milk and if you put one tepid drop of the said water in a saucer of tepid milk, it immediately coagulates the milk. And as the virtue of balsam resides in the base of cyprus and

<sup>1</sup> John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, London, 1640, p. 1586, writes, "We have not yet attained the knowledge of the tree, from whence this Gum *Elemni* is taken."

is not dissolved, even after it has stood for an hour it will rise. The first water that is drawn off is called water of balsam. The second is called ivory of balsam. The third is called artificial balsam. The first is good, the second better, the third best. The first burns itself without burning a cloth but leaves it dry. The second is combustible and burns a cloth too. The third is stronger a hundredfold and the more it is worked over and distilled, the stronger it will be to a hundredfold. Therefore during distillation it burns wood and anything which is put in it."

"To break any stone in the human bladder and eject it a most approved experiment for those who cannot urinate because of stone. Take a hare that hasn't been skinned and put it in a clean pot and cover the pot. Then put it in a furnace till it is well burnt and becomes a black powder, and give a little of it to the patient with an egg and he will be cured and there's no doubt of it. But be careful that you put the hare in alive with all his intestines in the aforesaid pot, and if you wish to prepare the patient do as follows. Cook rock-parsley with oil, then wring out the oil and place the parsley before and behind the patient; then after a bit give him some of the aforesaid powdered hare and he will be cured right away, and let this be done until he is cured.

"To cure films in the eyes of beasts grind glass thoroughly and sift it well with a sieve and put in the beasts' eyes and within five days they will be cured. For the same burn well human excrement and put it in the eyes of beasts which have leucoma with a tube, and they will be cured."

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## REVIEWS

Antonio Restori, *Saggi di Bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Geneva, Leo. S. Olschki (Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum," Serie I, Vol. 8), 1927, 121 pp.

Some preliminary investigations in connection with a promised study of Lope de Vega's *La Moza de cántaro*, and particularly the need of correcting numerous erroneous statements and guesses which have gotten into print in regard to the volume containing the supposedly earliest dated edition of the play, are advanced by the author as a pretext for publishing some of the results of several years of research in the puzzling, though fascinating, bibliography of the Spanish drama of the seventeenth century, so far as he has been able to carry his studies in Italy alone. The work is divided into five chapters and an appendix.

I. Restori shows that the *Doze comedias . . . Parte XXXXXVII*, Valencia, 1646 (containing, among other plays, *La Moza de cántaro*), the only known copy of which is in Bologna, far from being, as most bibliographers have hitherto supposed, a regular volume of a series called *Diferentes*, is a mere collection of *suellas* "dell' ultimo quarantennio del secolo XVII," for which a false title-page was made, not in 1646, but years after, probably by the Leefdaels of Seville. He dispels all doubt as to the strange number and other details on the title-page by reproducing this latter photographically, and describes the *suellas* composing the volume, giving such important data as the number of pages or folios, the signatures, the ornaments, etc.

II. The fraud perpetrated in the above case being evident, the question arises: What confidence can one place in volumes which have been catalogued, from title-pages of this sort, as forming part of a regular organic series? Did perfect series, or a perfect series, prior to the *Escogidas* collection, once really exist, only to be nearly completely wrecked by the mania for possessing individual plays for the purpose, in some cases, of forming new but not easily explained collections, such as the DA (i.e., *Diferentes Autores*) and LVC collections in Parma?

III. As a method of approach to this complicated question, it is first necessary to re-examine the entire *comedia* output of the seventeenth century in one of its two standard published forms, namely, the 12-*comedia* volumes or *partes*, noting in connection with each (and this the great bibliographers of the Spanish drama, with few exceptions, failed to do), first, whether or not the volume has consecutive pagination (or foliation) and signatures, and secondly, whether or not each and every one of the *comedias* composing the volume begins on (and with) the recto of a folio, these two details being the only criteria by which it can be determined whether the volume is a genuine one, or one that has been manufactured in such a way that it can be cut up and sold piecemeal. With this latter question as his principal preoccupation, Restori devotes thirty pages (14-43) to remarks on, sometimes detailed descriptions of, some thirty odd volumes either accessible to him in Italy or known to him from more or less accurate published accounts. The number of volumes prepared in advance to be so cut up, or merely consisting of *suellas*, is found to be much larger than has been supposed hitherto. Moreover, many *partes* were issued first as genuine volumes, then as divisible

("scindibili") ones, or vice versa (and this as early as 1608); others show the peculiarity of being composed partly of a genuine section, partly of a divisible section; etc.

In all of this irregular material (speaking now of the first half of the century only) the bibliographers from Münch-Bellinghausen to Salvá believed that they recognized the remnants of several once complete series—*de Lope de Vega*, *de Lope de Vega y otros*, *de Diferentes [Varios]*—and attempted to find places for all the volumes which they knew, with few exceptions, within that scheme. The attempt has long since been considered a failure and the classification established by these bibliographers has been generally rejected, especially since Professor Schevill in 1907 (*On the Bibliography of the Spanish Comedia*, in *Mélanges Chabaneau*) declared that all such attempts were bound to fail. Is it then necessary to give up all hope of ever finding a guiding thread in the labyrinth? Restori thinks not, and argues as follows (pp. 44-53):

The Spanish drama in all its aspects, including publication, was dominated throughout all this period by the figure of Lope de Vega. It is true that until the publication of his *Parte IX* (1617), Lope had taken no part in the editing of his plays; but although he had constantly complained of the manner, or rather the form, in which they were being presented to the reading public, it is evident that he had at least assented to such publication. He had, in fact, been playing a double game, which is easily explained by his obligation to the *autores* to whom he had been selling his manuscripts: his protests may be considered largely as insincere gestures in his half-hearted support of the rights of the *autores* as against those of the publishers. But after the former had twice lost out in lawsuits against the latter, Lope felt himself strong enough to impose his will on both parties, and so from 1617 to 1625 he took a hand himself in the publishing of his *comedias* (*Partes IX to XX*). Then suddenly, for some unknown reason, he ceased to occupy himself with the preparation of *partes*. It took the publishers several years to realize that Lope had stopped, and to become convinced that he was not going to go on with his series. Then (i.e., about 1630), off in Saragossa, Barcelona, Huesca and Valencia, well out of Lope's reach so to speak, several publishers took up the series where Lope had left off, probably without any concerted understanding among them (hence, possibly, lacunae in the series, duplication of serial numbers, etc.), but with the name of the Phoenix still dominating in the first few volumes to appear. Lope, eventually aroused, resolved to resume his series, ignoring his upstart competitors, and prepared his *Partes XXI* and *XXII*, and perhaps *XXIII*, all of which were destined to be published only after his death. Later, a feeble attempt was made, indeed, in Saragossa to carry on Lope's series (*Parte XXIV* in 1641 and *Parte XXV* in 1647); but it was the rival series which flourished most successfully during these years, continuing, always outside of Madrid, to *Parte XLIV*, Saragossa, 1652.

In accordance with this theory Restori tabulates (p. 54; notes, pp. 55-57) as a single series the entire *parte* output in Spain, exclusive of the special collections of dramatists other than Lope, from 1603 (*Seis com. de LVC y otros*) to 1652 (*Parte XLIV de dif.*), naturally with some lacunae from 1630 on, counting the last five regular *partes* of Lope as *hors série* or rival volumes, and listing such volumes as the *Poetas valenc. I*, the *Quatro com. de Gongora y Lope de Vega*, etc. (only seven in all), as "Laterali o Aberranti."

In the second half of the century the supremacy of Madrid in the matter of the publication of collective volumes of *comedias* was definitely established, and the success of the great *Escogidas* collection (not 48, but 47 volumes, 1652-1681) was not hampered by the short-lived Lisbon series already in course of publication in 1652. Moreover, the *Escogidas* series was the last successful one to be

launched, for the sporadic attempts at new series toward the end of the century and beginning of the next promptly came to naught. (Pp. 58-62.)

III. In his chapter on *La Moza de cántaro* Restori asks what edition Hartzenbusch could have used in re-editing the play for the BAE; points out many variants between the Hartzenbusch (and Stathers) text, on the one hand, and those of two distinct but closely resembling *sueltas* accessible to him in Italy, on the other hand (these being the one contained in the *Parte XXXXXVII*, Valencia, 1646, and one in the Parma collection); calls attention to several passages in which he believes that Hartzenbusch must have introduced arbitrary changes; discusses once more the question of the date of the play, inclining decidedly toward the earlier of the two dates usually proposed, namely 1625; and expresses the opinion that if any change at all was made in the closing lines of the play at the time of its first impression, it was only in the word "quinientas," in place of which the original may have had "dozientas" or "trezientas."

IV. "Comedias" in Italia." In this chapter Restori catalogues, from notes taken in part while on official missions and during hurried tours of inspection, the works, and particularly rare editions, of Spanish dramatic authors which exist in libraries from one end of the peninsula to the other, as well as in Marseilles and Malta, stating in which of these libraries a given volume is found. This catalogue is general in its scope, for although all the authors included belong in some way to the history of the drama (*i.e.*, they are in La Barrera), such non-dramatic works of theirs as Restori has come upon are likewise listed here.

V. Ten pages (97-106) of "Correzioni e Aggiunte," which, so far as the second category is concerned, the author could presumably have expanded *ad infinitum*.

In the Appendix, Restori returns to his beloved Parma collection to complete his study of thirty years ago (*La Collezione CC\* IV. 28033 della Biblioteca Palatina Parmense*, in *Studj di filologia romanza*, Vol. VI, 1893, pp. 1-156), re-listing in the order in which they occur in the collection all those copies of plays (mentioned in the earlier work for the most part without any indications) which have been detached from known volumes or *partes*, and stating in each case from what volume the *desglosada* ("stralcio") was taken.

The main controversial point treated in these "saggi" is, as stated above, the question of whether or not the publication of *partes* in the first half of the seventeenth century followed some established system. If the tendency in the past few years, especially since Professor Schevill's article on the subject appeared, has been to say "no" to this question, surely these studies of Restori's accomplish much toward causing the pendulum of opinion to swing the other way.

But even without its controversial aspect this new contribution to the bibliography of the Spanish drama is exceedingly valuable because of its wealth of minute points of information. If the index which I have formed in going through it is correct, the work contains bibliographical data of varying importance on no fewer than 510 dramatic pieces. It corrects not a few erroneous statements which, first set down by such men as Ticknor, Hartzenbusch, La Barrera and others, have gone on multiplying in manuals, editions, recent bibliographies, etc. In short, taken in connection with the author's other contributions, it has very nearly completed for Italy (thirty-four libraries in all, including two outside of Italy) what must be done for France, for Germany, for Spain itself, and for other countries, before the re-writing of La Barrera can be undertaken successfully.

A bibliographical work of this sort presents countless opportunities for slips, and moreover can perhaps never be complete. It is for these reasons that I am able to offer the following corrections and additions, based partly upon my own *collectanea*, and partly upon first-hand consultation, with Restori's "Saggi" before me, of certain volumes in Paris and here in New York.

P. 9, continued note: In none of the published lists of contents of the *Parte VI . . . escogidas* (Schack, La Barrera, Salvá, catalogue of the Ticknor collection) does *A un tiempo rey y vasallo* occupy fourth place. However, the only edition of this *parte* which seems to have been preserved, namely, the one printed in Saragossa, is a collection of *sueñas*, and there are differences in order in the above-mentioned lists: presumably it is in the "nitido esemplare" which Restori says (p. 33) is in Florence that the play in question occupies fourth place.—The *suelta* of this play mentioned by Toro y Gisbert in *Bol. de la R. Acad. Esp.*, vol. VI, p. 310, as existing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is identical with the one whose last page is reproduced by Restori as an illustration to this note. There is a second copy of it in the same library (Yg. 343), likewise mentioned by Toro y Gisbert, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

P. 13, ll. 18-19: Restori is in doubt as to whether all of the "24" volumes of the *Jardín ameno . . .* collection (Madrid, 1704) were ever published. His information regarding what he assumes to be the last volume of the collection is taken from La Barrera (p. 712), who mentions *Parte XXIV* of the series (then in Sancho Rayón's bookstore), unfortunately without giving the list of contents, but adding that "los señores Fernandez-Guerra" had seen another volume of the collection, containing *entremeses*. Now, there is another volume of this supposed collection in the Biblioteca Nacional, namely *Parte XXVI*. It is possible that this is the very volume which La Barrera had seen or learned of, and that in his haste to get it into his list of "Colecciones sueltas" (it is the last one in the list and is chronologically out of place) he made a mistake in the number, "XXIV" for "XXVI." In any case, it does not seem to be the other one seen by the Fernandez-Guerra's, since it contains no *entremeses*. The title-page of *XXVI* is the same as La Barrera gives for *XXIV*, without any name of printer or "mercader de libros." On the verso of the title-page are printed: "Indice | De las comedias | contenidas en este | Libro," and, in a column on the left, the numbers 1 to 12. The titles of the plays forming the volume are in manuscript and in their proper places with respect to these numbers. I do not believe that there are any other preliminaries. The plays which follow are all *sueñas*. Each of these has a printed number in the upper right hand corner, namely, "Num. 301" to "Num. 312" inclusive. The pagination varies: no. 1 has regular pagination; nos. 4, 11 and 12 have foliation; the others have neither pagination nor foliation. At the end of nos. 1, 4 and 11 is the following: "Hallarse en la Librería de los Herederos de Gabriel de Leon, en la Puerta del Sol." It is probable that the others were printed for the same bookseller. The plays are: 1. Leyva, *No hay contra lealtad castelas*. 2. Belmonte, *El Príncipe villano*. 3. Moreto, *El Parecido*. 4. Matos Fragoso and Villaviciosa, *El Redentor cautivo*. 5. Moreto, *El mayor imposible*. 6. Zabaleta and Villaviciosa, *La Dama Corregidor*. 7. Calderón, *Celos aun del aire matan*. 8. Matos Fragoso and Moreto, *El mejor Par de los doce*. 9. Villaviciosa and Matos Fragoso, *El Letrado del cielo*. 10. Mira de Amescua, *Los Carboneros de Francia*. 11. Calderón, *El Conde Lucanor*. 12. Calderón, *Dar tiempo al tiempo*. It is clear that the volume is a "tomo

colecticio." Its title-page, by a mere change in the *parte* number (my notes do not tell whether in this case the number is printed or manuscript) could be affixed to any collection of twelve *comedias*, since it was only necessary to insert the titles in manuscript in the printed form on the verso. This circumstance, as well as the fact that the serial numbers 301 to 312 are correct for a twenty-sixth 12-*comedia* volume, point to the probability that a complete set was once made. Restori himself has told us (*La Collezione . . . Parm.*, p. 8) of the existence, in the Biblioteca Governativa at Cremona, of *Partes I* and *II* of the collection, changed, as he has pointed out, from their original form of 12-*comedia* to 20-*comedia* volumes, two of the forty *sueñas* which the two volumes contain bearing the same name of bookseller as nos. 1, 4 and 11 of the *Parte XXVI* in Madrid. This allows us to surmise that the complete collection was made up entirely of *sueñas* from the same press or from the same bookseller's numbered series; and perhaps only one such set, for the bookseller himself, was ever actually made up. Unfortunately for this whole argument, Restori did not state whether the *sueñas* composing the two *partes* in Cremona are numbered, and numbered consecutively, as are those constituting the *Parte XXVI*: in theory, the first volume should contain *sueñas* numbered 1 to 12, and the second volume, 13 to 24, the remaining eight in each case being presumably later additions (as the change of "doce" to "veinte" on the title-page, noted by Restori, seems to indicate), probably not numbered consecutively. As for the other *sueñas* numbered anywhere from 25 to 300 and bearing, as we might expect some of them to do, the firm name of Herederos de Gabriel de León, they seem to be exceedingly rare, if not non-existent. Of the *sueñas* used in forming the *Parte XXVI*, i.e., nos. 301 to 312, I have come across only one elsewhere, namely, no. 312, which is Calderón's *Dar tiempo al tiempo*. This *suelta* is in a made-up volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Yg. 352) and has been described by Toro y Gisbert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

P. 15, l. 6—p. 17, l. 15; also, p. 101, ll. 6-19: (Note: The following six corrections are made from examination of two copies of this *Parte XXVIII*, Huesca, 1634, in Paris, one being in the Arsenal library [A. 12216 B. L.], the other in the Mazarine [11069K].) 1 (p. 15, l. 16): For '*ricas*' read '*riças*'. 2 (p. 16, l. 16): The fifth play ends on fol. 107 (sign. P3): in the Arsenal copy there is nothing between this folio and fol. 109, while in the Mazarine copy there is a blank folio without number. 3 (p. 16, l. 22): The sixth play ends on fol. 216 (sign. S4 + 4), and neither the Arsenal nor the Mazarine copy has fol. 133 or anything in its place. 4 (p. 16, ll. 29-34): The unbroken succession of signatures (fol. 151 = sign. X2, fol. 153 = sign. X3) shows that no blank folio is missing here: the printer merely omitted (forgot?) "152" in numbering his folios. 5 (p. 17, l. 7): The tenth play ends on fol. 216 (sign. Ff2) and the eleventh begins on fol. 217 (sign. Ff3). 6 (p. 101, ll. 15-17): Restori is in error in his belief that the fourth folio of the preliminaries as he finds it in the Vatican copy, with page numbers "216" and "217," has nothing to do with the volume, it having been glued in, he thinks, by the binder. The facts of the case are as follows:

- (a) This same folio is found in the Boston (Ticknor collection), London (Brit. Mus.), Madrid (Bib. Nac.), and Mazarine copies, though not in the Arsenal copy. (I do not know about the copy in the Preuss. Staatsbibl. in Berlin.)

- (b) Close examination of the Mazarine copy reveals that this fourth folio is a

part of the same sheet of paper as the title-page. (The title-page is missing from the Arsenal copy: it may have become detached after someone, having the same erroneous opinion as Restori, had ripped out the fourth folio.) (c) The *dedicatoria* which occupies the third folio of the preliminaries, addressed to Don Antonio Manrique de Luna y Lara, dedicates only the first ten plays ("le dedico estas diez Comedias . . ."), the remaining two being inscribed ("Me atreuo humilde a poner en el amparo de v. m. estas dos Comedias . . .") to Don Francisco de Villanueva y Tejada in a *dedicatoria* which occupies precisely this fourth folio. (d) Since "216" as a page number on the recto and "217" on the verso are impossible in the normal system of pagination, this folio can not be a leaf from another book. From correction 5 above it will be seen that these two numbers are the same as those of the last folio of the tenth play and of the first folio of the eleventh play respectively. (e) The recto of this folio has the signature mark Ff3, while in the book itself, as already noted, sign. Ff2 is the last folio of the tenth play. (f) The verso has the catchword "ESCANDERBEY," the eleventh play in the volume being *El Príncipe Escanderbey*.

From all this it is evident that this fourth folio is an integral part of the volume. The small details to which I call attention in (d), (e) and (f) seem to be devices, of which I know of no other example, for telling the reader that the proper place for this folio is between the tenth and eleventh plays. The reason why the printer himself did not put it in the proper place is probably that the decision to dedicate the first ten plays to one person and the last two to another was made after everything but the title-page and preliminaries had been printed.

P. 27, l. 9—p. 29, l. 21: (Note: A copy of this *Flor de las Mejores* . . ., Madrid, 1652, is in the Arsenal library in Paris [12224 B. L.]. The following three corrections are made from it.) 1 (p. 28, l. 1): For '*Dirigidas*' read '*DEDICADAS*'. 2 (p. 29, note 2, l. 10): For '25' read '35'. 3 (p. 30, continued note, l. 3): Fols. 66-71 are erroneously numbered 86-91, as Restori, using an imperfect copy, surmises.

P. 30, l. 1—p. 32, l. 24: (Note: A copy of the genuine volume of this *Primera Parte* . . ., Madrid, 1652, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Yg. 307]. It lacks title-page and all preliminaries.) 1 (p. 32, l. 6): For '4<sup>a</sup>' read '5<sup>a</sup>'. 2 (p. 32, l. 13): For '6<sup>a</sup>' read '7<sup>a</sup>'.

P. 33, l. 16: Contrary to what Restori states here, I believe, from my notes on this and other *partes* taken in Madrid several years ago, that one or more of the *sueltas* composing this *Parte Sexta* . . . have pagination, while others have foliation.

P. 36, ll. 8-9: One folio number seems to be missing, probably between "66v" and "166."

P. 36, note 1, l. 1: After '*numeri*' insert '5, 11,'.

P. 40, l. 21—p. 41, l. 5: The *Parte primera de LVC*, Saragossa, Larumbe, 1626, seems hardly to be a case in point here, as Restori himself practically admits in his footnote (p. 41). In the library of the Hispanic Society of America there is a perfect copy of this *parte* in which the last play, *El Testimonio vengado*, occupies fols. 268-289r (signatures Ll—Nn4 + 2). The copy in Florence seen by Restori, in which the last play is folioed 25-48, is therefore a patched volume, of the sort which, as Restori himself remarks in his Appendix (p. 108), is quite common. (I possess, for example, a copy of Lope's *Tresena parte* . . ., Barcelona, 1620, in which the sixth play, *El Cardenal de Belén*, has been replaced by *El postrer Godo de España*, a *desglosada* from the *Octava parte*.) As for the "lacerto" of *El Testimonio vengado* which forms part of the Florence volume and whose origin Restori has failed to find, it would have been of some assist-



ance to other searchers if he had given us *all* the signatures: that a *comedia* whose folios are numbered 25-48 (hence, the second play of a collection) should have signature marks F—L2 (impossible for 24 folios with any foliation) is, to say the least, difficult to explain.

P. 42, note 2, l. 12—p. 43, continued note, l. 8: In the same prologue "al lector" to the *Mejor de los mejores* . . . , Alcalá, 1651, from which Restori quotes, Alfay also says: "La principal causa que tuue para darte este tomo, no ha sido otra cosa, sino ver tanta multitud de comedias tan mal impressas, como se imprimen fuera desta Corte vsurpando la gloria de sus dueños, si son buenas, y si son malas, desacreditando a quien las atribuyen, . . ." Now, I point out below that *El Conde de Sex* was published in the *Doze comedias las mas grandiosas* . . . *Primera parte*, Lisbon, 1646 (and the volume being composed of *sueeltas*, the play could have been published a year or two earlier), and under Coello's name; and Cotarelo (*Don Antonio Coello y Ochoa*, in *Bol. de la R. Acad. Esp.*, vol. V, p. 25 of the reprint) affirms that in the *Parte XXXI* . . . , Barcelona, 1638, the play is anonymous. If, then, Alfay is sincere, his reason for reproducing the play in his *Mejor de los mejores* . . . must be that he had seen the Lisbon edition and found it poorly printed. Therefore, before it can be said that the testimony of Alfay brings us nearer to a solution of the *vexata quaestio* of the authorship of *El Conde de Sex*, a comparison must be made between Alfay's text and that of the Lisbon *suelta* (or *parte*) in order that it may be determined whether he merely copied the latter edition (if not that of the *Parte XXXI* . . .), or whether, on the contrary, there is evidence that he used a manuscript, and hence, perhaps, a better text.—I do not see on what grounds Restori states that Cotarelo "non poté allegare questo testimonio," for there is a copy of the Alcalá edition of the *Mejor de los mejores* . . . in the Biblioteca Nacional. Incidentally, I suspect that the edition which, according to Cotarelo (*loc. cit.*), Carolina Michaelis saw in Berlin, stating in regard to it: "Parece muy antigua," is the Lisbon *suelta* which I have just mentioned.

P. 55, note 16: I do not know how Restori got the impression that the *dedicatoria* of Lope's *Parte XXVII "extravagante"* is signed by Lope. The fact is that it is anonymous ("Amigo de v. m."). It is brief and reads as follows: "Al Doctor Ivan Perez de | Montalvan. Salvd. | Estas Doze Comedias salen a luz debaxo de | su amparo de V. m. que se han trasladado de sus | mejores originales. Reciba este pequeño agrade- | cimiento de vn amigo, en tanto que otras plumas | mas delgadas le celebren, | como su ingenio merece, | y su modestia lo grangea." I do not understand, either, why Restori questions "*Saragoza*" (this is his spelling) as the place where the *aprobación* was given, since the volume was printed in Barcelona, i.e., in the "reino de Aragón." Perhaps a reconsideration of these matters, as well as of the fact that the list of contents is printed on the same page as the *dedicatoria*, will dispel his inclination to doubt the genuineness of the title-page and preliminaries.

P. 56, note 20: The Mazarine library in Paris possesses (11069<sup>H</sup>) still another edition of this *Parte XXX* . . . , namely, Saragossa, 1638, "En el Hospital Real, y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia." It also has (11069<sup>Q</sup>) the edition of Saragossa, 1639, "En el Ospital de nuestra Señora de Gracia." There is also a copy (edition?), without title-page or preliminaries, at the Arsenal: the last play, save for the first page which is the verso of the folio on which the preceding play ends, has been removed, and in its place are *sueeltas* of *No hay*



*vida como la honra* (Montalbán), *Las manos blancas no ofenden* (Calderón) and *Donde hay agravios no hay celos* (Rojas).

P. 57, note 28: A copy of this *parte* is in the Arsenal library (12220 B. L.). It lacks the last two plays. There are no preliminaries of any sort after the title-page. It is a volume of *suektas*, as Restori surmises (p. 8, note 1, ll. 14-15).

P. 58, l. 29: A perfect copy of the first volume of this short-lived Lisbon series published in the middle of the seventeenth century is in the library of the Hispanic Society. Its title-page is as follows: "DOZE | COMEDIAS | LAS MAS GRANDIOSAS | QVE ASTA AORA HAN | SALIDO DE LOS MEIORES, | y mas insignes Poetas. | PRIMERA PARTE. | DEDICADAS | Al Doctor Ruy Gomez Goliás, Maestrescuela en la Collegiada de | Nuestra Señora de la Oliuera, en la Villa | de Guimaraës | (line) | EN LISBOA. | Con licencia de la Santa Inquisicion, Ordinario, y del Rey. | En la Enprenta de Lorenzo de Anveres. Año de 1646. | A costa de Iuan Leyte Perera (sic) Mercader de Libros." On the verso of the title-page is the list of plays contained in the volume, with names of authors. The recto of the second folio contains five "licenças" in Portuguese, dated respectively as follows: "28. de Mayo 645," "15. de Junho de 645," "16. de Junho de 1645," "16. de Junho 645," and "17. de Junho de 645;" and the *tasa*, dated "5. de Janeiro de 645" (this latter figure being evidently an error for "[1]646"). On the verso of this folio is the *dedicatoria*, likewise in Portuguese, dated Jan. 10, 1646, and signed: "Ioaõ Leite Pereira." There are no other preliminary pages. The plays, bound together in the same order as in the printed list on the verso of the title-page, are all *suektas*, and are as follows: 1. Rojas, *No hay amigo para amigo*, pp. 1-48, sign. A—C4 + 4. 2. Rojas, *No hay ser padre siendo rey*, pp. 1-51 + blank page, sign. A—D + 1. 3. Rojas, *Peligrar en los remedios*, pp. 1-50, sign. A—D[1]. 4. Rojas, *Progne y Filomena*, pp. 1-50, sign. A—D[1]. 5. Rojas, *Obligados y ofendidos*, pp. 1-48, sign. A—C3 + 5. 6. Antonio de Coello, Rojas, Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El catalán Serrallonga*, pp. 1-48, sign. A—C4 + 4. (At the end of this *comedia* is the following: "Com todas as licenças necessarias. Em Lisboa. Por Antonio Aluarez Impressor Del Rey N. Senhor. Anno de 1645.") 7. Lope de Vega, *La fuerza lastimosa*, pp. 1-63 + blank page, sign. A—D4 + 4. 8. Antonio Coello, *El Conde de Sex*, pp. 1-43 + blank page, sign. A—C4 + 2. 9. Montalbán, *El Mariscal de Virón*, pp. 1-45 + blank page, sign. A—C4 + 3. 10. Villayzán, *Sufrir más por querer más*, pp. 1-56, sign. A—D4. 11. Villayzán, *Ofender con las finezas*, pp. 1-52, sign. A—D2. 12. Calderón, *Casarse por vengarse*, pp. 1-54 + blank folio, sign. A—D3. La Barrera (p. 708) knew of the existence of this volume through Gayangos, but the copy found by the latter must have been in poor condition, having no title-page. In La Barrera's list of contents the order of plays is different from that of the perfect copy just described, and instead of no. 7 there is *La mayor hazaña de Portugal*, a play which forms part of *Parte IV*, 1652, of the same series. Presumably the volume had been cut up for someone who wanted Lope's *La fuerza lastimosa*, and later, the title-page and consequently the "tabla" being now lost, was put together again in the order in which the now detached *suektas* were picked up, *La mayor hazaña de Portugal*, probably conveniently at hand, being thrown in to complete the usual count of twelve.

P. 59, ll. 1-2: A copy of this volume, without the title-page or other preliminaries, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Yg. 357). It has consecutive

foliation and is perfectly "scindibile," each *comedia* beginning with a new signature. The second play, omitted from La Barrera's list (p. 708), is *A un tiempo rey y vasallo*, attributed to "tres ingenios."

P. 62, note 2: The reason for the inconsistency of La Barrera (p. 709) in listing five titles of plays for the volume *Autos sacramentales . . . Primera parte*, Madrid, 1655, in spite of the fact that the title-page explicitly states that the number of *comedias* is four, is almost certainly ignorance of the fact that *El rico avariento* and *Vida y muerte de San Lázaro* are one and the same play. (In his article devoted to Mira de Amescua he also mentions these two titles as belonging to two distinct plays.) He had not seen the volume himself, but someone must have assured him that *Vida y muerte de San Lázaro* was in it, as, in fact, it is, but under the title *El rico avariento*. A copy of the volume is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Yg. 144): the wording of its title-page is exactly as La Barrera gives it.

P. 84, l. 37: For '*sagrado*' read '*Sacro*'. This is the title given in the "Resumo de lo que contiene este libro." At the beginning of the poem itself (p. 141) the title is: "VIDA DE N. SENORA."—The volume itself seems to me to be hardly deserving of the designation "rarissima edizione" (apparently an echo of Salvá's remark, no. 1284): there are copies in the library of the Hispanic Society, the Ticknor collection (Boston), the British Museum (1073. k. 13), and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Yg. 157); and I have another copy in my possession.

P. 109, l. 39: In the regular list of contents of *Parte XX* of the *Escogidas* collection, there is no *Hijo de la molinera*, so I assume that "20" is an error for "42."

P. 110, l. 26; also, p. 114, l. 28: Unless there is an error here in giving the final folio number of the *desglosada* of Tirso's *La Santa Juana*—i.e., "242" should be "245"—the "stralcio" in question was not taken from this author's *Quinta parte . . .*, Madrid, 1636. A copy of this latter is in the library of the Hispanic Society. The tenth play in the volume, "LA SANTA | Juana," occupies fols. 215 (erroneously printed 115) to 245; the signatures are Ee3—Ii[1]. (Bibliographers will notice at once that these folio numbers and signature marks do not tally: this is because after fol. 166, on the verso of which the seventh play, *Quien no cae no se levanta*, ends, the numbering of the folios goes back to 163 and continues thereafter regularly to the end of the volume, the result being the overlapping of four folios without any corresponding irregularity in the marking of the signatures.) At the end of the play is the same *cul-de-lampe* reproduced by Restori on p. 9. If the *Parma desglosada* in question is not, therefore, from this *Quinta parte . . .* of Tirso, I do not know what other volume can be its source.

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José Joaquim Nunes, *Cantigas d'Amigo dos Trovadores Galego-Portugueses*, vol. II, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1926, 471 pp.

"The indigenous poems of Galicia and Portugal," says Aubrey F. G. Bell (*Portuguese Literature*, Oxford, 1922, p. 22), "of which thirteenth-century examples have survived, are so remarkable, so unlike those of any other country, that they deserve to be studied apart from the Provençal imitations by the side

of which they developed. Half buried in the *Cancioneiros*, themselves only recently discovered, these exquisite and in some ways astonishingly modern lyrics are even now not very widely known and escape the attention of many who go far afield in search of true poetry." These popular lyrics are now receiving the separate study which Mr. Bell so justly feels that they deserve. Prof. Nunes, who in 1906 published a *Chrestomathia* of early Portuguese prose and poetry, of which a second edition appeared in 1921, now offers a collection from which the rather artificial *cantigas d'amor* are excluded. Volumes I and III are announced as in press; they are to contain a study of the genre, variants, critical notes and a glossary. Volume II, which forms the subject of the present notice, is devoted exclusively to the text. It contains 512 poems of 88 poets.

This genre is generally distinguished from the *cantigas d'amor* and the *cantigas d'escárnio e mal-dizer* by the fact that in them the *namorada* is represented as speaking first, frequently using the word *amigo* to address her lover. That the editor was not entirely guided by this single criterion is shown by the inclusion of seven of the *pastorelas* which appear in the *Cancioneiros* among the *cantigas d'amor*, and two other *cantigas d'amor*; they were included because of the essentially popular nature of their content. However, several poems, which by their content belong to the artificial Provençal lyric, are included because of their adherence to the form of the *cantigas d'amigo*.

The text is based on the diplomatic editions of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* not containing any poems of this genre. The editor tells us that in rendering obscure passages he compared the two *Cancioneiros* and used freely the suggestions of all those who edited parts of the *Cancioneiros* before him. Where a difference in readings occurred, he took what he deemed the better reading. If neither was satisfactory, he changed the wording, on the assumption that the scribe had been unable to decipher the hand he was copying. Thus words and syllables were added or dropped to suit the rhyme and metre, and verses were rearranged to restore the parallelism of stanzas. But these alterations in the versification were not carried to excess because of the admitted irregularity characteristic of this poetry.

Convinced as he is that the orthography of the *Cancioneiros* is not original but rather of the fifteenth century, Prof. Nunes does not hesitate to change it for the sake of uniformity. For the study of phonology and morphology, the orthography of the manuscripts would have been more useful, even if it is of the fifteenth century, but, as the editions of Monaci and Molteni supply this need of the scholar, and as the purpose of the present edition (as revealed in the dedication to the women of Portugal and Galicia) is to place within the reach of everybody one of the finest types of early Romance literature, the orthography adopted seems entirely rational.

Through this sifting of the *Cancioneiros* for the best that is in them, the golden key with which Portuguese literature is opened is put in the hands of all in more readable form than ever before.

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G. L. van Roosbroeck, *The Legend of the Decadents*, New York, Institut des Etudes Françaises, Columbia University, 1927, pp. 126.

Il est plus rare qu'on ne croirait de trouver maintenant sur un sujet littéraire français une étude en langue anglaise qui ne marque . . . une incompréhension assez grossière de la France et de l'esprit français. Par esprit je ne veux pas dire "wit", mais esprit, c'est-à-dire aussi notre attitude. Il y faut de la finesse . . . et de la force; du tact . . . et de l'audace—ne pas plus s'effrayer qu'un Mencken et savoir se tenir dans un salon. Les critiques qui la traitent sans finesse ont l'air d'égoutiers admis par erreur dans un salon. Ceux qui la prennent pour le pays efféminé par excellence décadent, délirant et sans force morale, éveillent le vigoureux éclat de rire de toute la jeune génération française, ces "méditerranéens" qui brisèrent l'effort de Guillaume et de ses "blonds nordiques" à Verdun. Grande dame spirituelle et "poilu" de Verdun, allez donc y comprendre quelque chose, à moins d'être vous-même spirituel et érudit.

Ce sont deux qualités qui se trouvent dans le joli volume de G. L. van Roosbroeck sur la légende des Décadents. Moqueur, sérieux, érudit, charmant, les Français ne se plaindront certes pas de ce livre écrit par quelqu'un qui, sans absurde excès d'admiration comme sans tentative de les évangéliser, les comprend.

Le Décadent de 1885, être légendaire déjà, effroi des critiques hypervertueux, accablé, dit-il, de vices et de maladies étranges, symbole des dangers que court notre époque . . . Eh bien, non! Après un sketch amusé du Décadent "Legends crystallized around him—one alluded to Alcibiades, to Petronius . . . to all the decorous dilettanti of fantastic sin", van Roosbroeck nous explique. "In face of an inimical society he took an attitude which he dreamed sublime. He disdained its factories, its guns and its railroads, steamboats, gas-lights, democracies and money bags. . . His pose was a protest against the tyranny of a philistine period."

On n'est pas plus impartial.

Mais quelle fut leur valeur? Qu'y a-t-il de solide à côté des ridicules de quelques poseurs? "The New Poetry the world over was inspired mainly by the French Symbolists and their successors and along with their influence the term Decadence . . . has become internationally the pride of esthetes and the bugbear of horrified critics." "Among the Decadents and Symbolists were poets of high and noble gifts. The poseurs were forgotten; the work of the inspired remained."

D'où vient le nom de Décadents? Que signifie-t-il?

Une insulte, relevée fièrement comme un drapeau. Un terme sonore appliqué sans discrimination à des phénomènes littéraires aussi divergents que les romans réalistes des Goncourt et d'Huysmans, la poésie impressionniste de Verlaine, les vers de Baudelaire dont la forme est si classique; l'ironie et l'analyse de Laforgue . . . Mallarmé . . . Francis Jammes. Pour Nietzsche la décadence c'est le christianisme, pour Gobineau les races méditerranéennes, inférieures par définition aux blonds nordiques. Pour Rousseau c'est la civilisation artificielle. Pour Th. Gautier le raffinement excessif de l'expression. Pour Bourget l'individualisme. Pour Havelock Ellis la subordination dans le style du tout aux parties. Emerson et Carlyle seraient donc décadents, Hume et Gibbon classiques; les principaux artistes d'Amérique décadents (Poe, Hawthorne, Whitman). Les critiques sont à ce sujet comme les devins et les prophètes. Pourquoi donc?

Parce que décidés à associer décadence en art avec décadence morale. La vraie décadence en art, dit van Roosbroeck, c'est d'imiter froidement au lieu de suivre son inspiration.

Il étudie ensuite trois cas. *Le sonnet des voyelles*, À Rebours, Adoré Floupette. Que de bruit on a fait autour de ce fameux sonnet: "A noir, E blanc, I rouge, U vert, O bleu, voyelles," . . . Certains ont voulu bâtir là-dessus des systèmes poétiques. Les résultats obtenus sont maigres et incertains. S'il y a là un code nouveau, Rimbaud lui-même, n'en fait pas usage, même dans son sonnet. L'audition colorée n'était pas une invention de Rimbaud, ni même une découverte récente à son époque.

Van Roosbroeck fait justice aussi des accusations lancées par ceux qui "believe in the myth of degeneration". La synesthésie n'est pas un signe de maladie. "The famous sonnet is merely the notation of a rather fleeting state of feeling of Rimbaud, not a new esthetic gospel . . . Its real significance lies in its undeniable esthetic quality and its value as a psychological document on Rimbaud's artistic evolution. . . . Above all, it constitutes no evidence that a progressive spiritual weakness preyed insidiously upon modern poetry and modern life in general."

L'énigme de À Rebours d'Huysmans est une question plus délicate. La psychologie d'Huysmans est souvent fort difficile à saisir. Son À Rebours a été glorifié par des esthètes, mais brandi par certains critiques comme la preuve de la dégradation de la vie et de la littérature modernes. Les psychologues ont étudié le cas du Marquis des Esseintes. Or, d'après van Roosbroeck, il semble bien que ce soit là non un portrait autobiographique mais "a caricature of an attitude of mind . . . a vitriolic aspersion of the Esthete."

Ce marquis bizarrement malade méprisait l'Éternel Féminin dont l'amour est trop simple, combinait le rêve et la réalité en se faisant réciter des dialogues par une femme ventriloque; s'était fabriqué un orgue des liqueurs—le curaçao lui suggérerait la clarinette—et faisait des voyages à Londres, sans quitter sa maison, parce que Londres c'est la pluie et qu'il pleut à Paris. Des Esseintes n'est qu'un milord l'Arsoille nouveau style, une caricature de l'attitude prise par, ou surtout attribuée à Baudelaire et à ses imitateurs. C'est une suite À Vau l'Eau, un produit hybride, combinaison de burlesque avec des jugements sur l'art, souvent sérieux et sincères.

*L'Histoire tragique d'Adoré Floupette*, ou comment on devient Décadent, montre un poète (?) à la recherche d'une manière, essayant de toutes écoles avant de découvrir que le dernier cri de son époque c'est la Décadence. Il trouve un titre exquis "Les Déliaquescences."

"Je voudrais être un gaga  
Et que mon cœur naviguât  
Sur la fleur du séringua."

Délicieux fumiste!

"The attitudes and the mannerisms of the early Symbolists—their white swans, mauve souls and dusky gardens, borrowed from the pre-Raphaelites—were excellent targets for waggish satirists. But this bric-à-brac of modernity is but accident and stage-setting in their work. Its deeper esthetic value lies elsewhere and is not affected by it."

Et pourtant des critiques modernes ont pris ces parodies au sérieux, condamné et damné le pauvre Adoré Floupette!

Deux autres articles, signés avec J. W. Beach terminent le volume. L'un est une fine étude sur l'exquis poète A. Samain. "Not impressive nor high sounding in his note . . . sans rien qui pèse ou qui pose . . . like the music of a far-off harp in the dusk." On voit que le poète dont "l'âme est une infante en robe de parade" est compris et aimé. La dernière étude donne toute son importance à Francis Jammes, considéré comme un primitif.

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Mary Duclaux, *Portrait of Pascal*, Harper and Brothers, N. Y., 1927.

It would be unfair to criticize from the historical point of view this spirited, if slightly sweetened, biography. Willingly or unwillingly Mme Duclaux has written a biographical novel, a genteel, chatty, enthusiastic, amusing, anecdotic story which becomes, occasionally, moving and human. It grew in that twilight-zone where scholarship intertwines with imagination; it takes with both Pascal and history a familiar liberty which is, at the same time, delightful and disconcerting. Mme Duclaux knows all that. She states modestly that she does not attempt to give a real life of Pascal. She looks upon him "only from the outside, as a painter sees his model"—and she does not see him entirely: "Just one side of him." The aspect which she stresses above all is his nimble versatility. To her Pascal was in the first place a man of many and conflicting aptitudes and pursuits,—saint and scientist, mystic and mathematician, man of letters and philosopher. Nowhere does she attempt to fathom the abysses in his mind, his paralyzing fear before the Unknowable and the cold glitter of Infinity, before those abysses of infinite depth which he perceived in the stars and God, which he spied in man and the smallest cells. The tragic, God-lorn soul of Pascal does not animate these pleasing, fluent and polished pages. Nowhere are we brought to realize how suddenly, sometimes, he was smitten with the shudder of the Divine and blinded by the white lightning of Revelation. In a word, although sympathetic, familiar and admiring, this biography fails to grasp the intensity of this passionate mind, and it is, no doubt, the intensity and the immense compass of Pascal's intellect, rather than its many-sided diversity and ingenuity, that made his greatness.

But even if Mme Duclaux has seen Pascal only in profile, even if she has somewhat failed to mirror his deeper self, she has given a very meritorious sketch of Pascal in the flesh, much as he appeared, I surmise, to his contemporaries, from whom the innermost recesses of his thought remained hidden. She has sketched not the real Pascal, but her conception of him. Yet every biography, even when most rigorously documented, remains, in a varying measure, a work of fiction. However imposing and detailed our information, however deep our insight into the mental processes of an outstanding man,—in last analysis our knowledge of him proves to be but infinitesimal when confronted with the vast number of facts about him, of which we have not even an inkling. Moreover, our interpretation of the correlation and the significance of the known facts, remains largely subjective. Even as critics have evolved several Hamlets,—Hamlet a sceptic, Hamlet a thwarted man of action, a nihilist, a dilettant, etc.—several conceptions of Pascal's psychology have been defended.

"So much has been written about him; he has been so often pictured and so

passionately considered, that he has become a character of tragedy; a curious actor, almost a stock type of the comedy of knowledge. Certain men play the Pascal. Convention has made him a sort of French and Jansenist Hamlet. Holding his own skull in his hands, the skull of a great mathematician, he trembles and dreams on a platform facing the universe instead of Elsinore. He is seized by the harsh winds of infinity; he delivers monologues on the brink of the abyss, exactly as from the boards of a theatre; and he argues, before the whole world, with the ghost of himself." (Paul Valéry, *A Theme from Pascal*.)

Mme Duclaux's Pascal is less theatrical, but nevertheless a character of fiction rather than an attempt at an objective portrayal. This is partly explained by the fact that the volume is written frankly to interest the general cultured reader. Yet, from this point of view one could suggest some additional embellishments to a romanticized life of Pascal.

For instance, in Chapter III, where the stay of the Pascal family in Rouen is discussed, one could have narrated the dramatic insurrection in 1640 against the tax collectors, which Mme Duclaux omits entirely. Pascal's father was one of them and this revolt endangered his life. The relentless suppression of this insurrection by Séguier, the right hand of Richelieu, constitutes a background for Pascal's invention of the adding machine. One could have depicted him undisturbed by the murder of some of the tax collectors, by the execution of the rebels, by the inrush of the armies of the King, by the very danger that menaced his father's life,—and bent fanatically on completing his invention. And Mme Duclaux could have found a *leitmotif* for her work in the strangely strong love of Pascal for his sister Jacqueline, towards whom he showed a devotion of a disquieting egoism. How would a psycho-analyst explain his horror of all sensuality and his opposition first to her marriage or to any of her loves, then to her becoming a nun? He wanted her affection solely for himself. When she runs secretly away to the Jansenist cloister, he leaves Paris and takes up his abode nearby. Her prayers and her exhortations guide him towards his conversion, which marked the beginning of their mystic and spiritual union of mind and soul. After her death he prayed to her as to an unseen guide that needed no earthly shape. But why try to explain in any way the delicate wonder of such a harmony between brother and sister, more beautiful a work of art than any that Pascal created? Gilberte Périer tells us:

"My brother could love no one else so well as he loved my sister, and he did well to love her so. He saw her frequently. She was in all things his confidante, and always, in all things, she satisfied him completely. For there was between their natures so intimate a correspondence that never did the one jar upon the other, while their hearts were ever as one heart. Each found in the other one such consolation as those can imagine who have tasted some such happiness and know what it is to love and to be loved in utter confidence, each with the other abundantly content, never apprehensive of possible division."

This sympathetic book is a winning way of being introduced to one of the most problematic and tragic geniuses the world ever knew.

Vicomte Charles du Peloux, *Répertoire général des Ouvrages modernes relatifs au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle français (1715-1789)*, Paris, 1927.

This tantalizing title promises far more than the book actually contains. It is a very useful repertory of nineteenth century studies on the French eighteenth century and will render many a service to scholars, but its claim of being a general or a complete repertory is not at all substantiated. Its plan is far too



immense: It attempts to list all historical works as well as literary or philosophical studies. It intends to give, for instance, a catalogue of all books and articles on Mme de Maintenon or Louis XVI as well as on Watteau, Diderot or Casanova or the Abbé Raynal. Although it lists about 11,000 titles, it was bound to fall short of its objective, because it embraces too complex and too extensive a field. No doubt, bibliographies ought not to be judged merely by their completeness. An accumulation of a great number of titles of valueless productions only increases needlessly the burden of the scholar, who will lose his time consulting these insignificant essays. But no work of real importance, no article that makes a definite contribution to knowledge, ought to be excluded. Now, Mr. du Peloux's numerous omissions are not the result of critical selection; they are largely arbitrary and accidental.

One of the most obvious shortcomings of the volume is its neglect of nearly all scholarly publications not issued in France. This is to be regretted, the more that French bibliographers are as a rule very poorly informed about the work done in the Romance field in any country but their own. Mr. du Peloux could have partly obviated this neglect by listing the most important studies which appeared on the French eighteenth century in England, Italy, America, Hungary, etc. But he has not even consulted such well-known publications as the *Modern Language Review* of England, *Neo-Philologus*, *Modern Philology*, *Modern Language Notes*, etc. The lists of recent German theses would have yielded a number of additional titles. Volumes in English are apparently included only when published in France. But a great deal of valuable French material is omitted, too,—and among these omissions any specialist will note at once a number of valuable contributions. To substantiate this I may point out that Mr. du Peloux gathered 260 titles on Voltaire. Now, there exist at least 1500 studies and articles on Voltaire published during the nineteenth century, so that this Repertory lists about one sixth of the available material. The same figures would hold approximately true for Rousseau, I surmise. To take another major literary personality of the eighteenth century, I note that a number of important studies on Montesquieu have not been included, as, for instance: P. Toldo, *Dell' "Espion" di Giovanni Paolo Marana e delle sue attinenze con le "Lettres Persanes" del Montesquieu*, in the *Giornale storico della letteratura Italiana*, 1897; M. Herbet, *Une Ambassade Persane sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1907 (Important for the rôle of Mehmet Riza Beg, See Letter 91); M. Martino, *L'Orient dans la Littérature française*, Paris, 1906; E. Jovy, *Le Précurseur et l'Inspirateur direct des Lettres Persanes*, 1917; H. Gabler, *Studien zu Montesquiens Persischen Briefe*, 1898; E. Chevallay, *La Théorie des différents ordres de lois d'après Montesquieu et son application à l'histoire*, etc. (1910 ?); A. Charaux, *L'esprit de Montesquieu, sa vie et ses principaux ouvrages*, 1885; A. Fickert, *Montesquiens und Rousseaus Einfluss auf den vormärzlichen Liberalismus Badens*, 1913; Sir Courtenay Ilbert, *Montesquieu*, 1904; R. P. Jameson, *Montesquieu et l'Esclavage*, 1911; H. Knust, *Montesquieu und die Verfassungen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, 1922; R. Piil, *Montesquiens politiska idéer*, 1903; and many other studies which can not be listed here for lack of space. All of this proves that this Repertory can only furnish help for the compilation of the bibliography of an eighteenth century author or movement, but that it is far from exhaustive and ought to be constantly checked and completed with other bibliographical sources.

The usefulness of this reference work is seriously impaired by the fact that

its Author's Index is very negligently made, and this shortcoming is the more serious as it is through that Index that the work is to be consulted. A great number of books listed in the work are not mentioned in the Index, and, strangely enough, a number of works referred to in the Index are not to be found in the bibliography itself. Proper names are frequently misspelled. Yet, the need for an adequate bibliographical organization of the whole field of modern literary history is so painfully evident to any scholar dealing with it, that this Repertory, —incomplete and lop-sided as it is,—remains valuable. Lanson's *Manuel Bibliographique* lists about 6000 titles on the eighteenth century, of which about 5000 are critical works, studies or references. Mr. du Peloux doubles our ready reference list of critical studies on this period. It is to be regretted, however, that while compiling it, he did not complete it to such an extent as to make it a real standard repertory, which, used in connection, for instance, with Quérard's *La France littéraire*, would have afforded a comprehensive survey of French eighteenth century literature. It would have been more really useful if Mr. du Peloux, instead of attempting to cover the whole eighteenth century field from every point of view,—political, historical and literary,—had given a far more exhaustive and careful bibliography of only one of these aspects.

J. De la Luz León, *Amiel ó la Incapacidad de Amar. Prólogo de Salvador De Madariaga*, Madrid (1927), 303 pp.

This new volume on Amiel,—that professorial Hamlet, afflicted with celibacy and self-analysis,—is especially valuable because it brings unknown fragments from his *Journal Intime*, entrusted since 1919 to the Library of Geneva. From this immense manuscript of almost seventeen thousand pages in fine, feminine handwriting, Miss F. Mercier,—the "chère calviniste", the "petite sainte", the "chrétienne, sensitive, Seriosa, Fida, Stoica," as Amiel called her,—selected a number of fragments or maxims which she published in 1882-84 with an introduction by Schérer. This incomplete revelation of the exceptional psychology of Amiel brought world-fame to this forlorn bachelor, this mediocre professor, who had been considered, his life long, as foredoomed to final failure. Even after his death Schérer refused to read the extracts from the *Journal*, saying: "Take them away! I knew Amiel. He never succeeded in anything!" Fame, "le soleil des morts", came to him suddenly. In 1886 P. Bourget gave him a place of honor in his *Essais de Psychologie contemporaine*, and another of his admirers, Berthe Vadier, published the same year, a pious *Étude biographique* on him, while translations into foreign languages and new editions of the *Journal* succeeded one another, year after year. The book has become one of the great manuals of *la vie intérieure*, a mirror into which the generation of 1885, believing themselves to suffer from *hypertrophie du cerveau* and gradual withering of the Will, discovered a sad-faced and brooding brother, forever bent over the mysteries of his moods, forever examining introspectively the contents of his own skull, forever wearing his wounded heart in a sling. His mania for self-analysis, his paralysis of the Will, his incapacity of action, his fear of love, of passion, of discipline, seemed in the 1880's to transform him into a typical dilettante-decadent, the Obermann of 1885, the heir of Adolphe, occupying a place somewhere between Baudelaire and Stendhal.

His spiritual ailment was identified as *la maladie de l'Infini*. The obsession

of the Infinite in thought and feeling (*vide* Baudelaire), combined with pitiless self-analysis (*vide* Stendhal), and Amiel was conceived as a kind of mystic nihilist wavering forever between the highest dreams and the bitterest self-criticism, and whose Will and power of action had been destroyed by this constant torment. And, just like him, and for the same reasons, a whole generation, that of 1885, was decadent in its weakness of Will, its taking refuge from reality into Dream, its perverted intellectualism. . . .

Yet, the extracts from his manuscripts on which this conception was based do not give a true or a complete image of Amiel. Miss Mercier who called herself, in a spiritual sense, his "widow", selected only those passages that showed him as a thinker "overcast with the pale hue of thought," wrestling with age-old problems, or as a delicate poet expressing noble, if melancholic, thoughts in dignified language. She corrected, chastened and arranged his text, removed carefully any allusions to love in any but the most Platonic and supra-sensual meaning. She wanted the text to conform to the ideal image of the man which she had created; she believed that the *Journal Intime* had a mission: "to elevate the soul, to initiate it to a purer, a superior, a more salutary life." In 1923, B. Bouvier issued three volumes of selections from the manuscript, based, this time, on the original text; and the image of Amiel as a pure, philosophic, Platonic Lohengrin was deeply modified by the revelations it contained. B. Bouvier stated in a guarded way: "À propos des *Fragments* de 1883, on a parlé de la maladie de l'idéal. Certains fragments inédits permettront de diagnostiquer la maladie de la pudeur." The unexpurgated text of his *Journal* makes it increasingly clear that Amiel's melancholy and intellectual nihilism were largely a consequence of his frustrated love-life. His depression, his restlessness, the instability of his many moods, his fear-neurosis were far more a consequence of the inhibitions created by his Calvinistic purity cult than by the decadent *mal du siècle* of 1885. His ordeal appears as far more personal and far less typical of a generation, to which, moreover, he did not belong.

*Amiel ó la Incapacidad de Amar* stresses the devastating influence of the suppressed love-instinct on both his sentimental and his intellectual life. Almost at the same time there appeared another work attempting to solve the Amiel case in a similar way and prying further into the secret of his strangely Platonic friendships, *Philine, Fragments inédits du Journal Intime*, Paris, 1927. The significance of these studies lies in their interpretation of Amiel's thought and psychology as far less abstract and impersonal than f. i., even Bopp still believed them to be, in his *H. F. Amiel. Essai sur sa Pensée et son Caractère d'après des Documents inédits* (Paris, 1925). They discover behind the hieratic poses of the thinker or the lofty utterances of the moralist,—a shrinking human being hiding his fear of love and action behind noble attitudes, and yet suffering from this fear, constantly, as from a hidden and irritating wound. "Amiel es un caso típico de insuficiencia masculina" (S. De Madariaga).

It is even likely that the former one-sided and too exclusively intellectual explanation of the Amiel riddle will give way to an equally one-sided explanation of his complex Ego through his obstinate celibacy. He would be, indeed, an easy prey to psycho-analytic critics and their too simple method of explaining the impulses to thought and art-creation. He himself "en s'examinant lui-même, a prononcé le mot de 'refoulement' et a analysé la symbolique des rêves." (Bouvier, I, lii). The true conception of this most protean, flexible, poetic

thinker lies probably somewhere midway between these two explanations. Yet, even the most indiscreetly personal inquiries into his emotional life are valuable since they help to ruin the deterministic conception of an Amiel modelled psychologically by a vague "spirit of the age", which dissolved his Will and made of him a decadent analyst of his ever fluctuating Self dissolving into a thousand disconnected moods and destructive doubts.

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### RUMANIAN LITERARY NEWS

TUDOR ARGHEZI published his first volume this year, although his writings, scattered in various publications, have had an ever increasing influence upon his contemporaries. *Cuvinte potrivite* (Well Matched Words), a collection of poems, places him high among the preëminent artists of the word. According to many admiring critics Arghezi reaches the peak where Mihail Eminescu (1850-1889) dwells. "If my beads and toys are doomed to destruction," says the poet discussing his art in one of his remarkable essays, "which fact I doubt, because of the quantities of life, health, and time crystallized in their substance, it does not worry me: I continue to play. If, however, they are destined to last, as I am afraid they are, they shall last without any intermediary, solidary with the language from which I picked them and in which I have re-intercalated them."—THE NOVEL, while not yet yielding the rare fruit full of the flavor of the soil, is still budding interestingly. This year we have Mihail Sadoveanu's *Demonul tinereții* (The Demon of Youth), Liviu Rebreanu's *Ciuleandra* (a folk-dance), and Ionel Teodoreanu's *Intre vânturi* (Among Winds). The youngest of the three gifted novelists, Teodoreanu, enjoys an envied popularity.—ION PAS, in *Povestea unei fete* (The Story of a Girl), shows fine qualities. In it factory life is powerfully etched. With *Omul de mâine* (The Man of Tomorrow), issued fragmentarily in *Cugetul liber* (The Free Reflexion), he tackles a great contemporary problem.—BY THE WAY, *Cugetul liber* is an interesting monthly edited by Ion Pas and Eugen Relgis, with foreign and native contributors among whom are: Upton Sinclair, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Han Ryner, Panait Istrati, Gala Galaction, Enric Furtună, Barbu Lăzăreanu, Virgiliu Moscovici, Lotar Rădăceanu, George Silviu, etc.—IN *Viața Românească* (The Rumanian Life), the magazine representing cultured old Moldavia, G. Ibrăileanu studies the Eminescu editions, of which none can be pronounced satisfactory. The long list of contributors of this monthly is the roll of honor of Rumanian letters: Mihail Sadoveanu, Brătescu Voinești, Mihai D. Ralea, Ion Pillat, I. Petrovici, Lucia Mantu, Aureliu Weiss, Ionel Teodoreanu, M. Sevastos, Al O. Teodoreanu, Damian Stănoiu, Demostene Botez, D. I. Suchianu, etc.—MIHAIL SADOVEANU visited Holland and tells us lovely things about that country in his *Olanda*, first published in serial form in *Adevărul literar și artistic* (The Literary and Artistic Truth), a fine weekly edited with care by M. Sevastos. In it, Tudor Arghezi displays a kaleidoscopic view of his fantastic originality.—BRĂTESCU VOINEȘTI received the tribute of literary Rumania on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. His short stories have added to humanity a world of modest heroes softening the heart of generations of readers.—THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the death of George Coșbuc (1866-1918), the poet of the peasantry, as Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920) characterized him, was recently observed with piety by all Rumania.—A NEW VEIN in Rumanian letters is being explored by Damian Stănoiu in *Călugări și ispite* (Monks and Temptations). It is

the life of the monasteries depicted with humor and sympathetic understanding.—EMANOIL BUCUȚA renders useful service with his *Graiul românesc* (The Rumanian Tongue), a monthly devoted to studies in Rumanianism.—MANY NATIVE PLAYS are being encouraged by the national theaters, yet very few succeed in winning the praise of the connoisseur. Much good is told about G. Ciprian's *Omul cu mârjoaga* (The Man with the Nag). Octavian Goga comes once more to the footlights with *Mesterul Manole* (Master Manole), a modern play in which the old legend is only incidentally revived. Maria Ventura, the French actress of Rumanian birth, played the principal part in Goga's drama. Nicolae Iorga, with his *Cleopatra*, has received appreciative applause.

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### ITALIAN BOOK NOTES

Luigi Pirandello, *La nuova colonia*, Firenze, R. Bemporad & Figlio, pp. 206, 1928 (L. 10).

In this new play Pirandello offers a study on his theory that neither the individual nor society has a hard-and-fast law or standard by which it can govern its thoughts or its actions, its spiritual emotions or its bestial cravings. The individual might change his mind a hundred times a day according to circumstances. Society creates its laws, then proceeds immediately to alter or to abolish them. Life itself has a tendency to destroy form. Is there any standard that governs the morals of the mass? Pirandello discards form or classification for the individual or the group, yet he maintains that art is the only medium by which spiritual or moral classification might be attained. It is the artist who gives life to his characters, the counterpart of the individual or society, and establishes certain criteria by which the masses might be guided. Art, then, creates standards which lack, *a priori*, the element of stability, but which possess, none the less, tendencies to temper bestiality and violence. This is the paradox that constitutes the Pirandellian theory on art and the mass. Add to this the complexity of Pirandello's creations, and one can easily explain why so few really understand the art of this distinguished playwright.

Pirandello chooses Sicily as the scene for his play, *La nuova colonia*. The players are made up of a group of fishermen, oppressed by laws, dissatisfied with life and their wretchedness. Not having been able to gain a livelihood, they try their hand at counterband. Soon they discover that living outside of the law becomes hopeless. The constant fear of the police adds despair to dejectedness. To escape laws, to attain freedom, they decide to brave the perils of the sea in order to establish a new colony on a deserted island off the Sicilian coast. *La Spera*, the harlot, accompanies the fishermen. She, too, and her illegitimate son are entitled to social freedom! The group embarks convinced that law and unhappiness have been left behind forever. But not so, for no sooner does the colony disembark than dissension arises as to leadership and distribution of land. *La Spera* reconciles the group by showing them that their salvation lies in personal freedom and not in material possession. The reconciliation is shortlived, however. The group soon forgets the purpose for which it came. Greed invades their hearts. The fishermen split into factions. New laws are drawn up (and they had left Sicily to escape law. What irony!). Since violence and reason are incompatible, gang laws arise. Murders are planned. Greed rules supreme! What was intended to be a terrestrial paradise becomes a veritable inferno. The morale of the group collapses like a pricked

bladder. In this iniquity the island trembles and is swallowed up by the ocean. In the deluge two crags only remain above the water; on them *la Spera* and her infant survive miraculously, for she alone has grasped the lesson of personal freedom and spiritual salvation.

This myth, consisting of a prologue and three acts, is perhaps the weakest of all Pirandello's plays. From the point of view of stage-craft this play must offer all sorts of scenic difficulties. It is a well known fact that Pirandello's plays must be seen acted in order to derive the full significance of the subject matter. Merely reading the play has left the reviewer only half convinced with regard to the author's purpose. The dialogues sag and are a trifle boring.

Luciano Zùccoli, *I ragazzi se ne vanno*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, pp. 247 (L. 12).

In Emilio Saya's recent publication, *La letteratura italiana dal 1870 ad oggi*, Luciano Zùccoli is classified as being a facile, elegant, but superficial writer. Superficial is much too polemical a term to apply in this case. Since Saya does not, however, give conclusive evidence showing why Zùccoli is superficial, it would, perhaps, be much more convenient, if not more discreet, to say that Zùccoli is a facile, elegant, and entertaining writer. Zùccoli's creations enjoy universality. All of his novels have been translated and have had much popularity throughout the world. Perhaps Zùccoli is a greater artist than critics have been willing to concede.

*I ragazzi se ne vanno* is a novelette of about ninety pages. The rest of the volume consists of five short stories: *Rue Pigalle*, *Il complice*, *Perchè ho lasciato Zina Scerkow*, *Mirabella*, and *Sua Altezza Imperiale*. *I ragazzi se ne vanno* offers a psychological treatment on the naïveté and the innocence of adolescence. He points out how easily naïveté in youth attracts danger, and how easily innocence is convertible into tragedy. The rest of the stories are delightful for their originality of theme and for their sparkling style. The book as a whole offers excellent entertainment.

Annie Vivanti, *Mea culpa*, Milano, A. Mondadori, pp. 330 (L. 12).

Moonlight on the Adriatic, a steamer plowing the waves gracefully, the atmosphere filled with a melodious French song followed by the pompous Rachmaninoff Prelude in C sharp minor; added to all this the heroine, a *Nordic* with blue eyes and blond hair; the hero, a *Soudic* having pale ivory complexion and mysterious black eyes—all this banality goes to make up the setting to Annie Vivanti's latest novel, *Mea culpa*. If this cinematographic setting was meant to give a better selling value to the book, one can easily forgive the author for this weakness. Yet one cannot refrain from expressing regret for so puerile an opening to a novel which does possess literary qualities. That Annie Vivanti has a certain spontaneity and freshness in her style is a known fact. Then, too, one must admit that her novels never lack in dramatic situations.

In *Mea culpa* the author develops a love story centering about an ardent Egyptian nationalist, Saad Nasir, and Astrid O'Reylley, the daughter of a Sinn-Feiner. Both are attracted to each other through their nationalistic beliefs and their hatred for England. Seven days of romance under the spell of the desert come to an abrupt end when Astrid breaks from the magnetic personality of Saad Nasir and marries an English army officer. Months afterwards Astrid gives birth to a daughter, also a Nordic type, with blue eyes and blond hair. The seven days of romance in the desert are to be buried forever. But fate decrees otherwise, for as the years go by Astrid's daughter marries in her turn an Englishman and gives birth to a child whose complexion is of pale ivory color, its eyes large and mysterious. In short, the



child possesses the countenance of an Arab. Whose is the guilt? With superb skill at story telling Vivanti brings this situation to a dramatic climax. Astrid absolves her daughter from accusation. The offering of the *mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa* creates a situation full of pathos and sympathy for the distressed heroine.

The whole novel is couched in prose which often touches on the lyric strain. There is poetry in the closing scene when one sees once again the rose-covered garden of the villa on the Nile. Astrid has brought the child to its abode. On the threshold she is greeted by Saad Nasir: "Ben torni alla tua dimora, o bianca pellegrina! . . . Ben giungi al tuo giardino, o stanco fiore!"

Massimo Bontempelli, *La donna del Nadir*, Milano, A. Mondadori, 1928, pp. 243 (L. 12).

Massimo Bontempelli is known to furnish bizarre ideas in his writings. While many of his contemporaries follow certain schools and certain theories, Bontempelli apparently refuses to be listed in any group. His enigmatic creations make it next to impossible to classify him among the young Italian writers of today. If any speculation is to be made, we should say that he belongs to the *Futuristi*. His work contains a mixture of humor and philosophy—much of his observation contains bitterness under the grotesque. Baffling as are his thoughts on philosophy, the grotesque is enjoyable and is to be found always on the surface. Whatever grain of philosophy we gather is delightful, however much escapes us. If his writing contains enigmas, then a naïve approach to it might be helpful in solving the riddles: First let us feast on the merry note, the serious note will develop after digestion.

Bontempelli offers a potpourri of impressions in his book, *La donna del Nadir*. There are one hundred and thirty-six observations made on current topics ranging anywhere from poker to ethics. Every impression contains its grain of truth hidden under nine other grains of the grotesque. Anyone who admires a bizarre stylist, who has a weakness for the philosophical vein, will find it profitable to read *La donna del Nadir*.

Massimo Bontempelli, *Donna nel sole ed altri idilli*, Milano, A. Mondadori, 1928, pp. 224 (L. 12.50).

In this collection of sixteen short stories Massimo Bontempelli brings in the element of mystery and fantasy. However whimsical the themes may be, the reader can extract from them a generous amount of entertainment. A hodge-podge of meditations is conjured up from grotesque plots and Futuristic settings. Although the stories fall short of literary value, the style in which they are written deserves praise. The author possesses a rich imagination, treats his subject matter with bizarre originality, and never lacks the right word or *tournure de phrase*. Notwithstanding that the stories have Futuristic plots difficult to follow, they do not lack serious undertones. As a matter of fact there is food for thought in every phrase.

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### ITALIAN LITERARY NEWS

Professor Alfredo Trombetti, of the University of Bologna, communicated the results of his investigation of the Etruscan language at the International Congress of Languages, at the Hague, April 10-14, 1928. He is publishing a book on the subject, containing a grammar, texts with translations and comments, and a diction-



ary. Professor Trombetti, who has been studying this subject since 1891, has evolved a method by which all Etruscan inscriptions may be read with comparative ease. Heretofore one of two methods has been pursued: either the student tried to interpret the signs of the affinity of the words to those of other languages, or he tried to decipher Etruscan by means of Etruscan—that is, by guessing the meaning of word or phrase by the nature of the subject which was supposed to be described and then applying the results to other inscriptions. In nine cases out of ten this has been proved to be a failure. The philological method of comparing root words has proved scarcely more successful. Professor Trombetti, by combining both methods, has formed a vocabulary of over 800 words with all changes of etymology and syntax clearly indicated for the first time.

In the archives of St. Louis of the French in Rome an interesting document has been found, dated 1593. It is the expense account of the choirmaster, Bernardino Nannino, at whose house the friar preacher of the Lenten season boarded. The account, carefully written out, gives in detail the expenses of the preaching friar in 1593. The daily expense, including the wood and oil for cooking, without wine and bread was ninety baiocchi (about 90 cents), while the cost of the raw food was nearly 70 baiocchi. Judging by the menu, the preacher was a man of delicate tastes and was not lacking in appetite. The prices were very low. The different qualities of fish cost from four to five cents a pound, the red mullets twelve cents. Oil was thirty cents a jug, the wine was six cents a pint; sugar, twenty-four cents a pound; rice, seven cents; raisins, four cents a pound; pears, from three to six cents.

It has recently been announced that a vigorous campaign is being carried out by some Italian newspapers to purge the Italian language of all foreign words. This may sound easier than it really is, because some words which are now universally used throughout Italy have no Italian equivalents. It is pointed out that all foreign words in the Italian language can be classified into three main headings. First, there are those which have to do with hotels, cooking and matters relating to tourists. These are almost all French. Then come words relating to fashions and women's apparel generally. These, also, are all French. Finally, there are those relating to sports, and these are almost all English. The majority of the French words have exact Italian equivalents, but the French words are preferred chiefly out of snobbery or a desire to seem learned. English sporting terms have, however, no Italian equivalents. For instance, there is no way to say in Italian "uppercut," "knockout," "foul," or "goal." So the English words are used. This is strange, since it is said that the very word "sport" itself is derived from the Italian, being in its original form "deporto," which, in Florentine, meant pastime or diversion. From there the word is reputed to have passed to France, where it became "desport" and finally to England, where the Britons dropped the first two letters and made it "sport." From England the word returned to Italy, so transformed that nobody recognized it, and where every one gave it a hearty welcome, thoroughly convinced that it was a thoroughbred English word.

The Bowery Savings Bank of New York City held an Italian art exhibit from May 21 to May 31. The exhibit was made up of about 100 paintings from the brushes of Italian artists living in New York. It also included a number of pieces of sculpture and other bits of work. Among the principal works of art shown at the exhibition the following are noted: R. V. Gerbino's "Lady Beulah," the full-length portrait of a dancer; Michele Falanga's "Mulberry Street Life." Furio, Attilio and Horatio Piccirilli, brothers, had a number of interesting bits of sculpture—a crowing cock, a mother and child, and a satyr and Eurydice; and Leo Lentelli was represented

by his small bronze of Gen. Robert E. Lee. There were also several large paintings from the hand of Joseph Stella shown for the first time in this country, paintings done in the style of the old masters. Other especially attractive items of this exhibition were A. P. D'Andrea's etchings, "Cloister of Santa Maria Novella—Florence" and "Ascent to the Villa d'Este—Tivoli."

Prof. Giorgio Del Vecchio, Rector of the University of Rome, has just issued a small illustrated volume entitled "L'università di Roma." The book, which is published by the Stabilimento Poligrafico per l'Amministrazione dello Stato, deals with the past history and present conditions of the university. In the compilation of this work, Prof. Del Vecchio has been assisted by some of his distinguished colleagues, e.g. Prof. Pietro de Francisci, who has contributed a chapter on the historical vicissitudes of the university and another on the Faculty of Law of which he is the dean. All the other deans and directors of the respective faculties and schools have contributed special chapters describing the work in their charge. Although much has yet to be done to place the University of Rome on an equal footing with the more important foreign institutions of higher learning, yet a careful study of the book readily reveals the effort that is being made by the present Government to endow its capital with modern scientific institutions.

Carlo Goldoni's *La Locandiera* has just been translated into Chinese by Prof. Chiao Chü-Yn, of the University of Peking. The translation is based not on the Italian original, but on an English version prepared by Lady Augusta Gregory, who entitled it *Mirandolina* and published it in London in 1924. The play was produced in Chinese in Peking for the first time in December 1926.

In order to make Italian literature and art better known in France, the French literary review entitled *Septimanie*, founded and edited by Dr. Paul Duplessis de Pouzilhac, devoted its July issue to Italy. This special number was edited by Prof. H. Buriot-Darsiles, of Moulins (Allier), France.

Prof. E. Damiani is giving a course in Bulgarian on the history of the Italian language and literature in the Royal University of Sophia. The first lecture, which was held on April 3, was on the subject: *Origine e concetto della lingua italiana*.

A Spanish translation of G. A. Borgese's short-story entitled *La Casa* was published in *Caras y Caretas* of Buenos Aires. Several critical studies have recently been published on Gabriele D'Annunzio. Some of the more important have appeared in the following: *Observer*, London, Jan. 29; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, N. Y., March 4; *Peter Lloyd*, Budapest, March 9; *Daily Chronicle*, London, March 19. The English translation of P. Mantegazza's *Le Leggende dei Fiori* was reviewed in the *Sunday Times*, London, Jan. 15. An English translation of selected prose from U. Ojetti's *Cose Viste* is published under the title *As They Seemed to Me*. The translation was made by H. Furst and contains an introduction by G. D'Annunzio. The art of Luigi Pirandello has been discussed at length in *Der Tag*, Berlin, March 3; *Daily Mail*, Paris, March 9; *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, Stockholm, March 12-17; *Imparcial*, Madrid, March 8; *Neue Wiener Journal*, March 24; *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, March 31. A. Tilgher has published an article on *Mistero di Cristo* in *Obsor*, Zagabria, April 8. *Il Giorno* of Parini has been translated into English, in verse, by H. Morris Bower. A school edition of Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* has been published in France with notes by Henry Massoul. A selection of the *Pensieri* of Giacomo Leopardi has been published in Germany under the supervision of E. Peters. A new translation of *Le Avventure di Pinocchio* has been published in New York. Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and Dante's *Egloghe* have been published in English.

## INSTITUTE OF ITALIAN CULTURE

The Trustees of Columbia University have recently announced that the Casa Italiana will be governed by an administrative board, of which Professor John L. Gerig, Executive Officer of the Department of Romance Languages, is Chairman. Other members of the board are: Dino Bigongiari, Professor of Italian; Arthur A. Livingston, Associate Professor of Romance Languages; Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College; John J. Coss, Director of the Summer Session; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History; William L. Westermann, Professor of Ancient History; Milton C. Del Manzo, Associate Professor in the International Institute; Peter M. Riccio, Lecturer in Italian, Secretary.

The results of the active membership campaign of the Institute of Italian Culture which is still in progress are encouraging. Subscriptions have recently been received for several life members and one fellow. The classification of members is as follows: active member (annually) \$15; sustaining member (annually) \$30; supporting member (annually) \$100; life member \$300; fellow \$500; patron \$1,000; associate benefactor \$3,000; associate founder \$5,000; benefactor \$10,000; endowment member \$15,000. Checks should be made payable to Professor John L. Gerig, President of the Institute.

Two important works of art have been received as gifts to the Casa Italiana: A decorative panel symbolizing the "Divine Comedy" of Dante Alighieri, by Achille Battisti. The painting, recently completed, is 4 by 8 feet, and hangs in the main reception hall of the Casa. It contains figures and scenes from the Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise, the three main divisions of the "Divine Comedy." His Majesty, the King of Italy, through the medium of Baron Nobile Giacomo de Martino, Italian Ambassador to the United States, has donated a beautiful painting entitled "Umile e Alta," representing the Madonna with the Infant Jesus.

Prince Spada Potenziani, Governor of Rome, in connection with his recent visit to the United States, made a formal inspection of the Casa Italiana on Saturday, May 12, 1928. He was greeted by President Nicholas Murray Butler in behalf of Columbia University, by members of the Italian Department of the University, and by numerous friends of the Casa Italiana. After expressing his admiration of the activities of the Casa Italiana, Prince Potenziani announced a contribution of \$500 yearly from the Municipal Government of Rome towards the maintenance fund of the institution.

The Crotchio Goliardico, an organization composed of men and women students of Italian in University Extension and the Graduate Schools of Columbia University, presented in Italian *Gl'Innamorati* of Carlo Goldoni in the auditorium of the Casa Italiana, on Saturday evening, May 12, 1928.

The Italian Historical Society, in addition to the regular series of lectures on Contemporary Italy which have been held in the Auditorium of the Casa Italiana, offered two extra lectures, as follows: April 13, Dr. John H. Mariano, "The Italian Immigrant in America"; and April 20, Comm. Henry J. Burchell, "Bernini and his Works in St. Peter's."

The Italian Historical Society has issued the following pamphlets: (1) *Mussolini Tells Why He Prefers Fascism to Parliamentarism*, by Willis J. Abbot; (2) *The Guild Organization of the Italian People*, by Herbert Wallace Schneider. The Society has in preparation: (1) *The Fascist Grand Council*, containing the full text of all Draft Legislation submitted by the Council to Parliament since its establishment as the ex-officio governing body of Italy, as well as a documentary history of the

evolution of the Fascist form of government; (2) *New Italy in the Making*, by Gioacchino Volpe. Translation of a study which has been hailed as the most notable historic work by an Italian in this generation. Subscriptions to these publications and to the full series of 12 books, \$5.00; single copies \$1.00; pamphlets \$0.05. Address: Italian Historical Society, 113 West 42d Street, New York City.

### ITALIAN BOOK EXHIBIT

The First Italian Book Exhibit in the United States was officially opened at the Casa Italiana on Thursday, May 24, 1928, and will continue up to the middle of next October. In a speech delivered on the opening day of the exhibition, Ambassador de Martino stressed the influence of Italian culture in cementing the friendship of Italy and America. He made a prophesy of a happy future for the alliance between the Casa, which he described as "a brilliant exponent of Italian culture," and Columbia University, "centre of American culture." Dean F. J. E. Woodbridge, of the Graduate Faculties at Columbia, spoke in behalf of the University.

The exhibition, which is under the patronage of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and Ambassador de Martino, was organized by Hon. Franco Ciarlantini, member of the Italian Parliament, under instructions from Premier Mussolini, who sent a message hoping that "it will prove a great success and worthy both of Italy and of the great metropolis in which it takes place." Hon. Ciarlantini said: "Italy has too long neglected to present to the United States of America the visiting card of her modern spirituality and of her new ventures in publishing, though Americans have long been admirers of the exquisite beauty of Italian books. The Italian heart skips a beat when it sees the present-day American printer deriving from the forms used by the earliest Italian artisans inspirations for his innovations. This observation gives assurance that the machine will never be made the point of arrival. Human genius will increasingly perfect the machine, yet it will still be inspired by artistic feeling, so that the pages will have a beauty that is not alone of linear precision, that must and will be an intimate bond between matter and spirit."

The 12,000 volumes which are on view include some of the most beautiful editions of works of art. Many of them are rare and extremely valuable. In the preparation of the *de luxe* editions, modern Italian publishers have always been inspired by the traditions of the great masters of the Italian press. This phase of the exhibit alone is sufficient to place Italy among the leading countries in the book art. But what arouses more curiosity is the retrospective view of the exhibit. Each volume of the antique department is truly a masterpiece.

All of the books shown have been selected after careful examination of the catalogues of the largest American libraries and of private collections. The purpose in so doing has been to assemble books which do not exist elsewhere in America. The chief object of the exhibition is to show the continuity of Italian printing from the manuscript-codes up to the present time, including even D'Annunzio's *Opera Omnia*. Superiority in the printing art implies superiority of culture, for all that issues from the human brain is collected in books, and the country which exhorts the book also exhorts civilization. The exhibition therefore includes the more representative authors in literature and research. It has books on art, music, politics, law, geography, medicine, religion, philosophy, history, etc. The section Art and Literature is truly superb, including as it does works of inestimable value. One of the outstanding books is a copy of the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, the binding of which dates from the fourteenth century.

Since the exhibit is not a commercial venture, the prices of all books are surprisingly low. Most books are sold at cost plus transportation charges.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

*Meetings:* March 12, Reception in honor of Señora Isabel de Palencia; March 30, Meeting of the Spanish Graduate Club; Professor Fernando de los Ríos spoke on "La misión actual de la juventud" and Mr. José Padín read a paper entitled "El problema cultural de Puerto Rico"; April 2, Reception in honor of the distinguished Argentine Novelist, Hugo Wast; April 30, *Fiesta de la lengua española*, an evening of Spanish songs, music and dancing by the *Instituto* chorus with the assistance of Señorita Luisa Espinel, Miss Emma Dolgin and the Rondalla del Centro Gallego.

On the evening of April 12 members of the *Instituto* enjoyed a benefit performance of Bruno Frank's *Twelve Thousand* at the Garrick Theatre. The occasion was arranged by Miss Winnifred Brown with the cooperation of Messrs. Shubert, and the proceeds were applied to the general fund of the *Instituto*.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### MAISON FRANÇAISE

The Maison Française closed the Spring Session activities with two teas. One was held in honor of Madame Perrier, Directrice of the Collège Montmorency, a school for Americans which is very highly recommended by various French university professors. Madame Perrier is also active in the field of letters. The other tea was given for the Membres Associés of the Institut des Études Françaises of Columbia University. This was very enthusiastically attended by both the members and guests.

BLANCHE PRENEZ,

*Secretary*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

### ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Julio Camba, *La Rana Viajera, Artículos Humorísticos*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Federico de Onís, Boston, N. Y., etc., Heath and Co., 1928, xviii + 258 pp.

This volume should have borne the subtitle of *Anthology of the Works of Julio Camba*. It presents, after an excellent study on Camba by the editor, a judiciously selected and skillfully arranged series of articles from the various works of this super-journalist. It retains, besides the suggestive title of the original, *The Wandering Frog*, only a few and the most significant of its chapters.

The unabridged *Rana Viajera* is chiefly composed of humoresques, variations on the oddities of the Spanish "soul and ideals." It mocks the "ideal" of unbridled Freedom, which is frequently freedom only of contracting and spreading disease; it smiles sarcastically at the old Traditions when it depicts the impotent nobility proudly lodged in ruined, unsanitary mansions; it pokes fun at the sacred cult of *La Pereza*, the mania for the eternal *Mañana*, that other freedom of doing nothing but dream and exercise, *sobre la mesa*, a real southern eloquence.

This text omits—and rightly so—many of the accusing chapters of the original. The spirit in which these criticisms were conceived cannot be transferred so easily to the mind of other peoples—and, *a fortiori*, not to the American classroom. The Spaniard has too deep-seated a reverence for his grandiose past to be really disturbed by some caricatures of its less praiseworthy remains, but the American student—lacking the background—might well acquire a distorted view of Spain if its oddities, without its greatness, were too obtrusively presented. The whole of the recent satirical literature, however harsh, biting and irreverential, cannot deeply dent the confidence in a greater Spain which remains anchored in every Spaniard's mind—not any more than Cervantes' mockeries ever destroyed their chivalric dreams.

These satires of Spanish life, customs and attitudes, play an important rôle: they are rousing clarion calls to action, to achievement, to deeds and daring. They overstress the weaknesses and the shortcomings of Spain—but to remedy them. In fact, the satirist is a reformer, since he has standards. The recent critical literature of Spain is but another phase of the reform movement fomented by the *Generación de 98*. The gauntlet has been cast to the Spain of tradition and decay, and self-appointed apostles address feverish prayers for the creation of a new, progressive country. This was the challenge flung by Ganivet, by Unamuno, by Ortega y Gasset, and prepared by the realistic-regional novels of the last century. But these reformers, because of their gloom and their battling for the "Idea," remain largely outcasts amidst their people, looked upon with a mixture of doubt and admiration by the very throngs to which they appeal for reform; whereas the caricaturists could spice with banter their preaching of the same reforms without being stoned for it. Yet these satirists also belong among the "tragic madmen" who bear on their shoulders the burden of a suffering Spain—dark in their hopes, and serious in their purpose.

Behind Camba's mocking, ironical words there lies a hidden intention. The goal he attributes to Zuloaga may well be taken as his motto: "Probablemente Zuloaga exagera, deforma y caricaturiza; pero esto no es malo, sino bueno y muy bueno. ¿Que van a pensar de nosotros fuera de España? Pero ¿es que se puede guardar así como así el secreto de un pueblo?" He reveals the secret:—he strikes the recalcitrants, the indifferent, the lukewarm, the conventional ones with the quips of his lash. He despises them fully as much as Unamuno. He holds up a pitiless mirror to their ridiculous foibles: he hammers away at their outworn barbarisms, but tempers his reformer's zeal with playful humor. Not overburdened with philosophical discourse or solemn *pronunciamento*, his varied chapters seem to run in the margin of Spanish life like arabesques, apparently superficial and even frivolous, but with an undercurrent of seriousness which transforms these slight but incisive sketches into signposts pointing toward the promised land of a "greater Spain"—a Spain of *spiritual* greatness.

But this text does not restrict itself to Camba's views on Spain. To the selections from the original work, Professor de Onís has added chapters from other volumes. Camba has travelled through many lands, and he has caught with a critical eye what is different and individual, absurd and ineffectual, in each country. As much as he blames the mania for the *manaña* in Spain, he blames the mania for meaningless activity in America. The cold orderliness of the methodical Englishman, the lacrimose sentimentality of the cruelly systematic German, the esoteric refinements of French culinary artistry and, in general, every twist and turn of the blusterers and shams of all nations, arouse his satiric propensities and sharpen the cutting outlines of his grotesque etchings.



- G. Martínez Sierra, *Sol de la Tarde*. Edited with Direct-Method Exercises, Notes and Vocabulary by C. D. Cool, With a Critical Introduction by F. de Onís, Boston, N. Y., etc., Heath & Co., 1926, xvii + 139 pp.

Strangely like Samain are the four *novelas cortas* that are offered in this text, of a sweet, tender, effeminate sadness. They are like pastels, depicting with dainty colors touching scenes of self-sacrifice, of hopeless love, of spiritual resignation. Like Pre-Raphaelite paintings escaped from the canvas, they stand dimly illuminated, white-draped evocations of Charity and Mercy—gently serene, understandingly calm, watching the little tragedies of this world with a soft smile of pity and regret.

These novelettes represent, perhaps, the most characteristic of the early work of Martínez Sierra. But this early phase is by no means severed from his later period, in which his attention is largely directed to the drama. For these short stories are really playlets, staging the drama of the pensive inner world as played upon by Nature or circumstance. Indeed, an unmistakable uniformity pervades all of his works. It is true that their tone does not rise to the more virile, weird symbolism of the best of Maeterlinck, nor yet does it strike the deep, resounding notes of the nature mysticism of Rousseau—nevertheless it partakes of both. It settles into a watery suggestion of Symbolism, and preaches the indulging of all the senses in a harmless, indolent passivity, in the suave aspects of nature. Symbolism, unless it aims at expressing the inexpressible, falls empty, and the world of Martínez Sierra is small. His allegorico-symbolism can be contained in a formula: it is always the sighing tree, the croaking frog, the playing sunlight, the rippling stream, that become the supreme redeemers of all the ills of mankind; his little world of good, weak people with wing-broken hopes, is full of pathetic tragedies of quiet heroism and sad self-sacrifice. But only when the wounded heart seeks solace in Nature does it find peace. . . .

This uniformity lies not only in the allegorico-symbolistic themes, but in his very technique that has become fixed early, both in imagery and expression. The evoking, yearning style derives from the symbolists: "las emacaciones ascéticas del incienso," "hace guiños la primera estrella," "sobre la franja de oro que tendió en los aires el sol poniente." . . . He creates the illusion of modernism by his technique, but his spiritual world is not different from that of Wordsworth. Therefore his technique did not evolve from inner necessity; it is borrowed. It is a rhetoric—a modernist rhetoric—composed of all the "sweet-scented evenings," the "sad mauve souls," the "nameless pity," etc., which have been current all over the world since the "Esthetic Eighties." This rhetoric became his tradition, his own mannerism of style. Yet this mannerism of style is well adapted to his peculiar, delicate and tenuous lyricism with its simple philosophizing, and to the pathetic lives he describes. Even while perceiving his artifice, it is difficult to resist his insinuating charm and his broadly humane sympathy.

- C. Matienzo and L. B. Crandon, *Leyendas de la Alhambra*. [Edited with Questions, Exercises and Vocabulary], Illustrated by W. S. Levis, Boston, N. Y., Ginn & Co., 1927, viii + 270 pp.

The fascination of the Alhambra still carries the imagination to a fantastic fairy world of Oriental legend and history. Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* almost a century ago, introduced this strange, luxurious country where East and West joined hands. Now his work is presented in a language more fitting to evoke these dreams, so rich a part of the legendary lore of Spain. They are retranslated



into the very tongue in which they were told to Irving, and therefore are more easily performed, in the imagination, against the picturesque background of the Alhambra. The strange fairy tales that mirror so well the life of the Arabs and the Spaniards who mingled in ages past, gain much in being retold, not in what seems to us to-day the stilted style of Irving, but in simple Spanish as used in this text. The numerous favorites: the *Legend of the Moor's Legacy*, that of the *Three Beautiful Princesses*, the *Rose of the Alhambra*, *Governor Manco and the Soldier*, the *Legend of the Two Discreet Statues*, etc., evoke the lost world of Moorish Spain. They bring to life the squatting Arab of the miniatures, recounting to his listeners the long-lost secrets: the fabulous wealth of underground treasures; the miraculous deeds that inspired superstitious terror of black magic in the ignorant; the untold luxury of the Arab princes, and the thousandfold wonders of the Arabian Nights. Interspersed among the stories are a few chapters that picture the history of the Moors in Spain, and that describe the Alhambra, the setting for all these magic tales. They introduce some Moorish leaders like Boabdil el Chico, "el desgraciado," the last unfortunate king of the Moors who, legend says, departed forever, heart-broken, from his fountain-playing gardens.

The book, however, has been issued with a more practical purpose than evoking the magic of an Oriental Spain. It devotes many pages to carefully planned and simplified grammar review and drill. It is a well-organized textbook which combines stimulating reading matter with profitable exercises.

Népomucène Lemerrier, *Christophe Colomb, Comédie Historique en Trois Actes et en Vers*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Charles Grimm, New York, Century Co., 1928, xix + 114 pp.

Lemerrier's *Christophe Colomb* was written in those happy times when historians were not yet prying into Columbus' life to determine whether he was a hero, a persecuted revealer of an unknown continent, or else an impostor, a dishonest "real-estate promoter" who, without having seen it, "sold" to Spain an entire hemisphere on which he had no claim. Happily uninfluenced by our modern overthrowing of the idols, Lemerrier has depicted the traditional Columbus who, steadfast in his faith, alone against the whole world, tore down all obstacles to dedicate a new continent to God and Spain. Yet he made no Tragedy of the life of the great discoverer, but a *Comédie historique* in three acts. He was very proud of this new genre for which, he claimed, there was no precedent in French theatrical literature. At first, he entitled it a *comédie shakespirienne* by way of excuse for his not observing the unities of place and time. It was not possible, of course, to observe the unity of place while Columbus was traveling thousands of miles over the ocean! Yet this unavoidable disobedience to the rules surprised the audience of 1809 so much that, on the second night, a battle with fists and canes broke out between the defenders of the sacred Rules, and the anarchistic battalion of the innovators. This seems like an anticipating plagiarism of the battle of *Hernani*! Yet it had over *Hernani* an additional glory: one defender of the Rules was actually killed in the skirmish. All of this shows that the pre-Romantics of the Napoleonic era were fully as ferocious as those of 1830! This play has, then, a double interest: it is an important document of pre-Romantic literature, and it presents the deeds, or the legend, of the hero, or the impostor, who discovered, or claimed to have discovered, America.

BARBARA MATULKA

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE,  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

André Theuriot, *Mon Oncle Flo*. Edited with Notes, Direct-Method Exercises and Vocabulary, by Edmond A. Méras and Leslie Ross Méras. D. C. Heath and Company, 1927, xiv + 303 pp.

This volume is the seventh in the publishers' series of *Contemporary French Texts* and constitutes a worthy addition to it. The story is excellently suited to class-room use, with its clear picturization of certain aspects of French life, its geographical interest, and its simplicity of language. As to the editorial apparatus, the Preface says:

"Special Exercises have been introduced to make the teaching of French atmosphere, idioms, practical phrases, and vocabulary an integral part of the instruction. . . . In preparing this text special emphasis has been placed upon the teaching of French atmosphere and of practical French. . . ."

One does not need to search for the editors' success in carrying out their intentions; it is evident everywhere throughout their part of the book. They tell us that they personally followed the itinerary of Uncle Flo through the Pyrenees, and saw the scenes and places described by the author. The notes, which are replete with interesting and worth-while information about French life and customs, have an unmistakable air of authority and a lively interest that make them the best part of the book.

The rather full exercises, in addition to sections of the more usual types, have sections devoted to "Idiotismes et Vocabulaire," and also "Questions Explicatives" which are different from, and in addition to, questions for conversation. Both seem to be very usable. The vocabulary has one uncommon feature, that is, the pronunciation of some words that might cause trouble is indicated in the phonetic symbols of the *Association Internationale*. The practice is an excellent one and might be carried still further. The introduction is brief, but adequate for the purpose intended, and gives, besides an account of the high points in a not very active life, a friendly estimate of the author's literary methods and accomplishments.

THOS. A. FITZGERALD

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,  
ANNAPOLIS, MD.

Rivas, *Don Alvaro*. Edited by Rosenberg and Templin. Longmans Green and Company, 1928, xxix + 193 pp.

A strong revival of interest in the life and literary work of Rivas has become manifest during the course of the last five years. As evidence of this interest we have the pioneer work of Allison Peers who some five years ago brought out the first authoritative studies on the author of *Don Alvaro*. More recently, in France, M. Boussagol has followed the same trail and produced notable critical and bibliographical studies that have done much to round out the story of the Romantic movement in Spain.

Though several of the representative Spanish plays of this period have been edited for American students, yet strange to say, the most famous, and perhaps most important historically, has been conspicuously missing in American editions.

There now finally appears a text edition of *Don Alvaro* by Professors Rosenberg and Templin. This text which fills one of the big gaps in the Spanish list recommends itself especially to those teachers who are giving survey or period courses to more advanced classes, though the editors have taken pains to make it acceptable even to third year classes of college grade by furnishing it with a vocabulary, notes and introduction.

A succinct, but adequate, biographical sketch brings into relief the high points in the poet's life. Rivas' interest in art and his attainments as a painter might well have received more generous mention than the scant three lines accorded thereto. One may likewise ask whether the statement as to English influences on the poet during his stay in Malta, great as they were, does not convey to the immature student the impression that Rivas owed comparatively little to his own literature.

The brief critical appreciation of the works presents no new estimates but gives an adequate and, generally speaking, accurate account of the author's artistic evolution and production. As to the vague remark: "and it is said that Mérimée translated it (*Don Álvaro*) into French" (v. Introduction XIX), this may be observed: Peers, who examined the question at some length, rejects this view and concludes, with Valera and Cejador, that the work was translated by the poet's friend and collaborator, Alcalá Galiano, who also composed the document which became the manifesto of Spanish Romanticism, the preface to Rivas' *Moro Expósito*.

It is surprising to find no mention of this important preface in the present edition whose introduction is presumably intended to serve the student as an orientation. Granted that it is not actually from the pen of Rivas, the fact yet remains that he considered it a sufficiently true statement of his new literary allegiance to place it at the head of one of his most important works. The fact that this document contains a good statement of the history and development of Romanticism in Europe is further corroboration of my contention that no discussion of Rivas and Romanticism can ignore this *apologia* of the movement in Spain.

A brief treatise on metrics sets forth the general principles of Spanish versification, while for more technical details the student is referred to other well-known studies. The general bibliographical note appended to this edition covers practically every important study including the Boussagol Bibliography published in 1927 but omits the same scholar's doctoral dissertation, *Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, Sa Vie, Son Œuvre Poétique*, 1926, which was reviewed last year in the *Bulletin Hispanique* and more recently in *Litteris*.

OLAV K. LUNDEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Charles Upson Clark, *Italian Lessons and Readings*, World Book Company, Chicago, 1927.

This text contains thirty-three lessons in Italian grammar followed by some seventy pages of well-selected readings from representative Italian authors. Interspersed throughout the book there are abundant idioms, proverbs and poems which give to the beginner of Italian a variety of interesting material that is not ordinarily found in the average foreign language text-book. Already in the early lessons one sees manifest the author's desire to introduce the student as quickly as possible to the practical application of the technical part of Italian grammar by giving idiomatic conversational expressions, short letters and proverbs. The introduction of such material at an early stage is an excellent idea. Details of syntax, involved grammatical constructions and exceptions to rules presented too early in a grammar have done more to destroy the interest of a student in a foreign language than any shortcomings of the duller language teacher.

The only serious reproach to be made to Clark's book is that the English exercises to be translated into Italian might have been more abundant. There are a number of typographical errors, and exception could be taken to a few statements concerning a number of grammar rules. On the whole, however, the shortcomings when compared

to the excellent qualities and innovations that the book possesses are comparatively so slight that the text is a worthy addition to the few really good books for beginners.

P. M. RICCIO

BARNARD COLLEGE

### FACULTY NOTES

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I. Professor Rudolph Altrocchi leaves Brown University to go to the University of California as Head of the Department of Italian. Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of Northwestern University, has been appointed as his successor. Professor William L. Fichter, of the University of Minnesota, has accepted an appointment as Associate Professor of Spanish at Brown. Professor Horatio Smith is now teaching at the Summer Session of the University of California, and will go from there to Paris for a sabbatical leave of one semester.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Professor Jean des Garennnes, formerly head of the Romance Languages Department at Townsend Harris Hall, has been appointed to the faculty of the Brooklyn centre of this college.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, N. Y. Professor Raymond Weeks will be absent on sabbatical leave during the first semester of the coming academic year. Professor Fernando de Los Ríos, of the University of Granada, who was Visiting Professor of Spanish Literature last year, lectured at the University of Porto Rico and at the Institución Cultural of Havana, Cuba, during the latter part of May. After completing a tour of the universities of the United States and Mexico, he will return to Spain in September. Professor F. de Onís, who was invited to teach at the University of Porto Rico during the Spring Session, has resumed his duties at Columbia. During his stay in Porto Rico he organized, in cooperation with Professor T. Navarro Tomás of Madrid, the Instituciones Culturales of Porto Rico and Cuba, the latter of which has already more than 4,000 members. Visiting professors for next year include A. Casamian and Félix Saulières, both of Paris. The former will lecture on English literature and the latter on French civilization. Professor Daniel Mornet of the University of Paris, gave the following courses in the Summer Session of 1928: French s129, General Course on French Civilization; and French s135, French Literature in the Making. Mr. R. H. Williams is teaching in the Summer Session of the University of Texas. Among the members of the Department who are spending the summer in Europe are the following: Professors D. Bigongiari, I. Brown, A. L. Cru, F. G. Hoffherr, Alma LeDuc, L. A. Loiseaux, Caroline Marcial Dorado, and H. F. Muller; Mme P. Vaillant, Dr. R. Vaillant, Mlles. Françoise Nollet and Blanche Prenez, Dr. Rose H. Wolstein, and Messrs. G. Bigongiari, B. I. Kinne, J. G. C. Le Clercq, M. T. Brunetti, Silas P. Jones, A. Mesnard, P. R. Sisson, R. Taupin, and C. H. Tutt.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y. Messrs. Albert Lerebeller, of Culver Military Academy, and Levi Woncelins, of New York University, are teaching in the Romance Department of this University during the present Summer Session.

HUNTER COLLEGE, N. Y. CITY. Henry Dupont, Agrégé de l'Univ., has been promoted from Assistant Professor in French to Associate Professor. Professor Dupont was recently made Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. A. Roland Lebel, D.-ès-L., Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, who has occupied the post of Visiting Professor of French since February 1928, is returning to his duties at the Lycée de Rabat, Morocco. He is to be succeeded for the year 1928-1929 by Léonie Villard,

Agrégée de l'Univ., D.-ès-L., professor at the Université de Lyon. Dr. Villard is the only woman in France who holds a chair in a Faculté de Lettres. She is the author of numerous works of criticism, including *Le Théâtre en Amérique, des origines à 1914* and *Le Théâtre en Amérique, de 1914 à l'heure actuelle* (Boivin, Paris). Auguste Viatte, D.-ès-L., has been appointed Assistant Professor of French. Professor Viatte's thesis, *Les Sources occultes du Romantisme: illuminisme, théosophie (1770-1820)* is shortly to be published in the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée*. Charlotte Nissiat, Agrégée de l'Univ., has been appointed instructor in French on regular tenure from March 1 to the end of the academic year of 1929.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD. Dr. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, of the University of Bonn, will be Speyer Visiting Professor at this University. He will lecture on "The Romance Vocabulary," and will also give a course of practical exercises based on linguistic atlases. Professor Gilbert Chinard has been granted a year of absence for 1928-1929, which he will spend in France.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, PRINCETON, N. J. Assistant Professor Frederick C. Tarr and Mr. Bateman Edwards have been promoted respectively to the rank of Associate Professor and Assistant Professor to take effect in the autumn of 1928. Professor J. E. Gillet, of Bryn Mawr, has been appointed Visiting Professor in the Department of Modern Languages for the first semester of the academic year 1928-1929.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. Mr. Julian Moreno-Lacalle, Dean of the Middlebury College Spanish School for the last eight years, has been appointed Visiting Professor of Spanish at this University.

SMITH COLLEGE, NORTHAMPTON, MASS. Professor Albert Schinz, Head of the French Department at this College, has accepted the position of Professor of French Literature at the University of Pennsylvania. He will also give a graduate course on Rousseau at Johns Hopkins University in addition to a series of lectures at the Summer Session of Duke University. One of the Sophia Smith Honorary Fellowships has been awarded to Marian Kuhn of New York, who will study Spanish at Madrid.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIF. Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa has been invited by Wellesley College to give two senior and one graduate course there during the autumn semester of 1928. While engaged in teaching at Wellesley (Sept. 22-Dec. 20), Professor Espinosa will also pursue special investigations at the Harvard Library, in order to complete the fourth volume of his *Cuentos Populares Españoles*, which contains a comparative study of the three volumes already published. During the first two weeks in January he will give a series of lectures on Spanish Literature and Folklore at Havana, Cuba, under the auspices of the Centro Cultural Cubano, and will return thereafter to Stanford.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY. Professor Altrocchi has been appointed to teach in the Department of Italian at this University. Mr. Rotunda has finished his work for the Doctor's degree, which will be conferred upon him this summer. The Italians of California have completed an Endowment Fund of \$260,000 which they have presented to the University, and the income of which is to serve to bring each year a Visiting Professor of Italian.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA. Professor Arthur Hamilton has returned to the University after spending his sabbatical year working in the libraries of London, Madrid, and Paris. Professor D. H. Carnahan, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, has been granted a sabbatical leave for the year 1928-29. He will spend

the year doing research at Paris. Professor Louis Cons is spending the summer in France. Professor J. D. Fitz-Gerald is teaching in the present Summer Session of the University of Texas.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, LAWRENCE. The following promotions and appointments are announced in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese: Associate Professor J. M. Osma to the rank of Professor; Assistant Professor C. J. Urute to the rank of Associate Professor; and Mr. R. S. Snyder to an instructorship for one year. Miss Agnes M. Brady has been granted a year's leave of absence, which she will spend in study at Columbia University.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR. Changes in the staff of the Department include the following: Professor Gustave L. Michaud has accepted the position of Head of the Modern Language Department at Battle Creek College; Dr. Malbone W. Graham is retiring; Mr. Albert J. Logan is giving up teaching to go into professional work; Mr. Loran G. Bartley is to leave at the end of the academic year to go into business; Mr. Alfred Higgins is also leaving the University, and a leave of absence has been granted Dr. John B. Cloppet for the coming academic year. The following new appointments have been announced: Mr. R. H. Gerhart, from the University of Louisiana; Mr. Jean-Louis Maigret, from Indiana State University; Mr. Stephen M. Lincoln, from Summer Academy, Mass.; Mr. Franklin V. Thomas, from the University of Indiana; and Mr. Francis W. Gravit, from Oberlin College.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA. Dr. Paul P. Rogers, instructor in Romance languages at Cornell University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish in this university. He will enter upon his new duties in September. Willis J. Burner, Assistant Professor of Spanish, has been granted a leave of absence for the next academic year. He will continue his work toward the doctorate at Ohio State University.

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO, LONDON. Professor M. E. Bassett, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, has recently published an advanced composition text, *La Carte de France* (Holt). He is spending the summer in Southern France. Dr. Dorothy Turville introduced last year a course in Italian which was well attended by both Faculty members and students.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON. *French*: M. Georges Lemaitre, of King's College at Halifax, is coming as Lecturer for 1928-29. Asst. Professor R. F. Bradley, Jr. and Professor Casimir D. Zdanowicz, Chairman of the Department, will go abroad on leave of absence for the year. Professor H. A. Smith will return from a semester's leave of absence spent abroad. Professor William F. Giese's verse translation of Molière's *Le Misanthrope* was produced most successfully and received very appreciatively by the Curtain Club of the University of Wisconsin Faculty on May 25 and 26. This translation is to be published this summer by Houghton, Mifflin Co. *Spanish*: Associate Professor Joaquín Ortega will return to his duties after a leave of absence of two years spent in Spain. Associate Professor Antonio G. Solalinde will be Visiting Professor at the University of Texas the first semester of 1928-1929. He will then go abroad for a year on a Guggenheim stipend. Instructor Anne-Marie Bodensieck will be at the Municipal University of Wichita, Kan. on a one-year appointment as Assistant Professor, to replace Professor Samuel A. Wofsy, formerly instructor at Wisconsin, who will go to Spain on the Markham Traveling Fellowship from the University of Wisconsin. Assistant Nicholas Magaro has received an appointment as Instructor in the University of Florida. Mr. Magaro



will replace Lloyd Kasten (Wisconsin M. A. 1927) who is coming to this Department as Assistant. Instructor Elise F. Dexter will return from a semester's leave of absence spent abroad. On May 16, members of the Spanish, History and English Departments, coached by Professor J. L. Russo of the Italian Department, gave an excellent performance of Jacinto Benavente's *Al Natural*.

VASSAR COLLEGE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. Assistant Professor Gabriella Bosano has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, CLEVELAND, O. Professor J. L. Borgerhoff, Head of the Romance Department of this University, has been spending his sabbatical year in Paris and in Rome.

YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN. Professor Frederick B. Luquiens, Richard M. Colgate Professor at this University since 1921, has recently been appointed Professor of Spanish-American Literature. Prof. Luquiens, who was Secretary of the Commission of Financial Advisers to the Government of Colombia in 1923, has written *An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology, Three Lays of Marie de France*, and an *Elementary Spanish-American Reader*. Mr. Jorge A. Buendia, instructor in Spanish, and Dr. Joseph F. Jackson, instructor in French, have been promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor. Professor Henri Peyre, a graduate of the Sorbonne, and who has been on the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College since 1926, has been appointed Assistant Professor of French at this University. Mr. G. A. Mayer has been appointed instructor in French.

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### VARIA

Mr. W. Franklyn Paris of New York, who founded in 1924 the American Society of the French Legion of Honor, has just issued a volume on the history of the order entitled *Napoleon's Legion* (N. Y., Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1928). The officers of the American Society include the following: Honorary President, J. J. Jusserand; President, Myron T. Herrick; Vice-Presidents, Cass Gilbert, Wm. Nelson Cromwell, Wm. D. Guthrie, John Grier Hibben, Henry T. Mayo, John F. O'Ryan and Geo. W. Wickersham; Secretary-Treasurer, W. Franklyn Paris. The Directors at the time of the incorporation of the Society in 1924 were, besides the above officers, the following: Wm. W. Atterbury, James M. Beck, Frederic R. Coudert, Wm. H. Crocker, the late Frederick Cunliffe-Owen, the late Chauncey M. Depew, Pierre S. du Pont, John H. Finley, James W. Gerard, the late Geo. W. Goethals, William T. Manning, Frank D. Pavey, Edward R. Stettinius, Henry van Dyke, and Samuel M. Vauclain. Among the Americans on the Legion's roster are the following twenty professors of Romance Languages, classified according to the institutions they represent: California, Richard Thayer Holbrook; College of the City of New York, Charles Alfred Downer and Félix Weill; Columbia, Adolphe Cohn (retired), Benjamin Duryea Woodward (retired), Raymond Weeks and J. L. Gerig; DeWitt Clinton High School of New York, Coleman D. Frank; Harvard, Jeremiah Denis Mathias Ford, Charles Hall Grandgent, and André Morize; Indiana, Bert E. Young; Johns Hopkins, Gilbert Chinard; Michigan, Hugo Paul Thieme; N. Y. University, Earle B. Babcock; Princeton, Edward Cooke Armstrong; Smith, Albert Schinz; Tulane, the late Alcée Fortier; West Point, Gen. Cornelis DeWitt Willcox (retired); and Wisconsin, Hugh Allison Smith. It is doubtful, however, if the records of Mr. Paris are correct. For example, on p. 106 he states "that the



honor has been conferred upon over nineteen hundred American citizens," and yet on pp. 170-232 he lists about 2,461. It is possible that the name of the late Professor John Squair of Toronto, upon whom the honor was conferred in 1924, is not to be found in Mr. Paris' list because he was a Canadian. The other countries of America represented are Argentine Republic with 175 *Légionnaires*; Brazil, 138; Chile, 85; Canada 75; Peru, 59, and Cuba, 46. Among the foreign *Légionnaires*, Britain leads with 3,174; Italy comes next with 3,157; then follow Russia with 2,866; Belgium, 2,682; United States, 2,461; Spain, 1,821; and Japan, 810. It is estimated that by July, 1927, the honor had been conferred, since the creation of the Order by Napoleon in July, 1804, upon more than 140,000 Frenchmen and nearly 22,000 foreigners.

Professor Carleton Brown, Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America, announced in the *New York Times* of June 11 that \$15,000 had been subscribed to the \$20,000 fund sought by the Association as an endowment for the publishing of monographs. One subscription of \$1,000 is contingent upon the completion of the total. The income from the fund, together with receipts from the sale of previously printed monographs, is expected to be sufficient to publish one monograph each year. Professor Brown—under whose able direction, it may be added, the Association has made extraordinary progress—requests the cooperation of all scholars to complete the fund.

The American Council of Learned Societies announced on April 8 that financial aid had been granted to twenty American scholars in order to promote research in history, economics, political science, archaeology, literature and biography. Among the recipients of these awards whose investigations pertain to the Romance field are C. Carroll Marden, Professor of Spanish at Princeton University, for travel in Spain to make a study of the Riojan dialect; and Louis J. Paetow, Professor of Medieval History at the University of California, for preparation of an edition of the *Epi-thalamium B. Mariae Virginis* of John of Garland.

Princeton University Library announced on June 8 the acquisition of one of the most complete reference libraries in the country on French medieval architecture. The collection was made over a period of many years by the late Barr Ferree of New York, and was donated by his sister, Miss Annie D. Ferree of Rosemont, Pa. Mr. Ferree was an editor and writer on architectural subjects, and his collection will be added to the Marquand Library of Art and Archaeology to form what is considered one of the largest libraries on this subject.

An important change in the custom of awarding honorary degrees was especially noticeable in the accounts of the Commencement Exercises last June. These distinctions, it seems, are now more rigidly reserved for persons of outstanding scholarly, literary or scientific achievement. The most popular figure among the Latin nations appears to have been the French Ambassador Paul Claudel, whose rank as a leading French poet is undisputed. M. Claudel was honored with the LL.D. degree by the following institutions, listed according to the chronological order of their Commencement Exercises: Columbia; University of Delaware, where he delivered an important address on the value of the exchange of students with foreign countries; Princeton; and Yale. The same degree was also awarded by Columbia to Senator Antonio Barcelo, President of the Board of Trustees of the University of Porto Rico, for his efforts to improve education in his native land; and to Antonio Sanchez de Bustamente, member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and President of the Sixth Pan-American Conference held at Havana in 1928, for his contributions to international law.

The American Field Service Fellowship Awards for 1928-29 include the following persons whose subjects are of interest to Romance scholars: W. T. Bandy, Jr., University of Illinois, to study "*L'Évolution de la Critique Baudelairienne*" at the University of Paris; W. G. Crane, University of Cincinnati, to study "English Literature of the Renaissance and its Continental Background" at the University of Rennes; G. L. Kirk, University of Wisconsin, to study "French Colonial and Domestic Administration" at Paris; G. S. Lane, University of Iowa, to work in Sanskrit and Celtic at Paris; M. Lowenstein, New York University, to complete a "Treatise on Monastic Romanesque Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" and C. B. Rogers, Yale University, to do historical research in the period of the French Revolution. Renewals of Fellowships have been made to the following: W. L. Crain, Lehigh University, who is working on Balzac and plans to bring out a critical edition of *Sur Catherine de Médicis*; and D. L. Demarest, Miami University, who is working in Paris on "Imagery in Flaubert's Works." Twelve Fellowships, each bearing a stipend of \$1,200, are awarded annually through the Institute of International Education in memory of the 127 Field Service Men who sacrificed their lives in the World War.

The *Final Report of the Briand Speech Competition* was recently issued in pamphlet form (35 pp.) by the Committee in Charge consisting of H. G. Doyle, Professor of Romance Languages, George Washington University, Chairman, and A. C. Watkins, Secretary. It is estimated that at least a hundred thousand college and high school students took part in the contest, and received the message of M. Briand contained in the famous address he delivered before the League of Nations on September 10, 1926. Among the 116 teachers of Romance languages in the United States in the group of 136 persons who contributed their services in reading and rating the papers submitted, the following were in charge of the districts into which the country was divided: Mme. Henriette Andrieu, Wellesley College; C. A. Downer, College of the City of New York; R. T. Holbrook, University of California; R. Samson of the high schools of Washington; C. A. Wheeler, Tufts; L. A. Wilkins, of the high schools of New York; B. E. Young, Indiana; and C. D. Zdanowicz, Wisconsin. Copies of the Final Report are sold for 25 cents each (for orders of five or more, 20 cents each) by the Committee in charge, 532 Seventeenth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Franco-American Maritime and Colonial League, Inc., of which A. P. de Malglaive of New York is President, is offering a French Travel Scholarship to the students of the College of the City of New York, Columbia, Fordham and New York University, in New York City, and the United States Military Academy at West Point. The scholarship is available in the form of a written contest to all men graduates of the aforementioned institutions, who are American citizens and were born in the United States of American parents. Besides the Presidents of the institutions mentioned above, the Honorary Committee consists of A. Blum, P. C. Cartier, A. P. de Malglaive and Theodore Seltzer, all of New York. The Advisory Committee consists of Raphael D'Amour; C. A. Downer; J. L. Gerig; Lt. Col. W. E. Morrison; and Oliver Towles. Members of the Executive Committee on Awards include Albert Feuilleurat, University of Rennes, Chairman; F. P. Courtois, Franco-American Maritime and Colonial League; H. C. Heaton; F. Lachesnez-Heude, Ligue Maritime et Coloniale Française; G. A. Lafargue; P. J. Marique; A. Sieper, French Chamber of Commerce; R. E. Vaillant, and Lt. Col. C. E. Wheat.

The extraordinary interest shown by American libraries and collectors in French history and literature may be noted in the numerous acquisitions of books and

manuscripts of French authors. In fact, with the exception of England—in which country our intellectual contacts are, for linguistic reasons, naturally close—no other country seems even to approach France in the interest manifested by Americans. On March 21, e.g., the Morgan Library purchased the original autograph manuscript of Anatole France's *Abeille*, written entirely in the great author's hand on 200 quarto pages (cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XIX, 1928, p. 188). On May 12, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach purchased in London the manuscript of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* for \$11,000. On May 2, Lafayette College of Easton, Pa., started a fund for the purchase of a manuscript letter written by the Marquis de Lafayette on February 12, 1824. On April 12, Ambassador Claudel visited Savannah, Ga., for the purpose of presenting to that city some personal papers of Admiral Charles Hector, Count d'Estaing, who led the French navy in the defense of Savannah in 1779. As a reward for his activity in defending that city against the English during several months of that year, the General Assembly of Georgia granted Count d'Estaing 20,000 acres of land and admitted him to all the privileges of a free citizen. The above-mentioned documents, according to the *New York Times* of March 30, include a letter of thanks to the French Admiral by the Congress of the United States and a long letter written by the Admiral to General Washington, dated Sept. 26, 1778. The *New York Times Magazine* of April 1 contained under the title "Citizen Genet Asks for a New Verdict" a long account of a trunkful of letters and papers written by Edmond Charles Genet, French Minister to the United States in 1794, and by his son, George Clinton Genet, who sought to vindicate his father. These documents, handed down for four generations in the Genet family, were recently discovered by Mr. Meade Minnigerode, and will no doubt throw much interesting light on a stirring period of American history.

The cornerstone of the American House in the Cité Universitaire of the University of Paris was laid by Ambassador Herrick on April 30. This structure, which will have accommodations for 275 students, will also contain an auditorium, library, restaurant, gymnasium and sound-proof rooms for students of music. In order that the American students may not be out of touch with the French language and culture, arrangements will be made whereby fifty French students will have quarters in the House. Among the important personages who took part in the ceremony were M. Charlety, Rector of the University of Paris, who delivered an address; Louis Barthou, Minister of Justice; Marshal Joffre; General Gouraud, Military Governor of Paris; Senators, Deputies, etc. The *New York Times* of May 2 stated editorially that the "Cité Universitaire becomes an international union in miniature. As many as twenty 'nations' were gathered in one or another of the medieval universities; but with the entrance of America, sixteen 'houses' have been assured for foreigners besides the six provided for the French from the 'provinces.' The medieval 'nations' had each a patron borrowed from the same catalogue of saints, but the American 'house' has selected contributing states, cities and home universities as the tutelaries of its rooms." Dr. Homer Gage, Chairman of the American Committee for the Cité Universitaire, returned to the United States in May in order to raise the remaining \$100,000 of the \$400,000 needed for the construction of the building.

Much interest was aroused on April 24 by the visit of Ambassador Claudel to the Acadiens in the Bayou Teche country of Louisiana. Not only was Longfellow's *Evangeline* recalled—doubly fitting for the visit of a poet-ambassador—but the life and customs, as well as the *patois*, of the simple farmer-folk whose quiet determination was revealed by their willingness to submit to deportation by the British from their

beloved Acadie in Nova Scotia in 1755 rather than give up the French language and nationality as enforced by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. While journalists have waxed enthusiastic over "the kinsfolk of Evangeline and Gabriel Lajeunesse," it is to be regretted that Romance scholarship has been somewhat neglectful of them. The late Alcée Fortier, of Tulane University, and his talented son Edward—both possessed of the patriotic ardor of the Acadiens—succeeded in keeping to the fore scholarly interest in the literature and folklore of this charming people, already made popular by George W. Cable and others, but since the passing of the above mentioned littérateurs all traces of this interest seem to have faded out. The doctoral dissertation of Miss R. Caulfield on *French Literature of Louisiana*, which was presented at Columbia University in the late spring, should, therefore, be welcomed by all those who feel that a beautiful tradition should not be allowed to disappear, unnoticed by our students, from our present-day life.

During the week of May 24-28, was held in Quebec the second Folksong and Handicraft Festival, which received much attention in the American press. An outstanding feature of the festival was the presentation of Adam de la Halle's *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, of which the original harmonies were discovered and reconstructed by Professor Jean Beck of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. H. Willan's ballad opera, *L'Ordre de Bon-Temps*—from the name of a society founded by Champlain at Port Royal in 1606—was also given. Eight prizes were awarded to winners in the E. W. Beatty competition for compositions based on Canadian folk melodies. Besides the historical French folksongs and dances of the "habitants" and their children, there were exhibitions of weaving, wood-carving, etc.

M. René Roland-Marcel, Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, to whose efforts to modernize the famous Bibliothèque attention was called in our last issue (pp. 189-190), visited the leading libraries of the east during April and May. His most popular lecture was entitled "The Book Treasures of France," which he gave first, on May 10, at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, when the presiding officer was F. P. Keppel, Director of the Carnegie Foundation. Among the changes in the traditional policy of the world's greatest library, which M. Roland-Marcel is seeking to introduce, are to supply current information to readers and to lengthen the period of reading hours. One of the best known works of M. Roland-Marcel is his political essay on *Alexis de Tocqueville*.

Maurice Paléologue, diplomat and writer, was elected on June 7 to membership in the Académie Française to succeed M. Jonnart who died last September. M. Paléologue, who is a descendant of the Byzantine Emperors, is 69 years old. He served for many years as French Ambassador to Russia and has written a number of books on art, archaeology and diplomatic subjects, notably an important work on Cavour, which was discussed recently in these columns (XIX, 1928, p. 98).

Newspapers of Paris, notably *Le Figaro*, have reproduced in recent issues various items from the section entitled *Varia* in the ROMANIC REVIEW. Those receiving special comment related to the numbers of students in American universities; the MSS. of Anatole France and Balzac now in the United States; official editions of ancient authors in Italy, as planned by the Minister of Public Instruction Fedele; and the origins of the Spanish-American War.

